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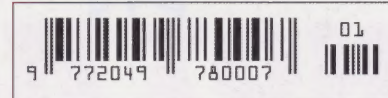


H PE not hate

Providing a positive
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January-February 2013

Issue no. 6 Price £3.50



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HOPE not hate

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groups and community initiatives
to combat them.

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Hopes and challenges

AS WE ENTER 2013 this issue of HOPE not hate looks back at the year we have just left behind and forward to the twelve months ahead. Our *State of Hate* report graphically highlights the miserable position of Britain's far right. The British National Party continues its decline, the English Defence League is a mere shadow of its former self and attempts to build a racial nationalist alternative to Nick Griffin have so far failed to materialise in any meaningful sense.

And against a backdrop of a growing momentum of UKIP the future for Britain's far right seems bleak – at least electorally.

That is not to say that problems will not emerge. With little prospect of success at the ballot box the far right is increasingly likely to switch its attention to street protests and more confrontational actions against Muslim communities and new immigrants. A succession of grooming trials involving British Pakistani men, the return of thousands of unemployed soldiers and growing media hysteria over Bulgarian and Romanian rights to enter the UK will all give the far right opportunities to organise and whip up hatred and trouble over the coming year.

A progressive immigration debate?

The story of the DREAMers, which is our cover feature, is both uplifting and thought-provoking. Over the last few years the immigration debate in the US has taken a depressingly negative tone. Despite promising much, Obama's first term as President oversaw the highest level of deportations in US history, draconian state legislation and a timidity within the Democratic hierarchy to propose any real change for fear of losing the white vote.

Now, all that looks very different and

it will be electoral suicide for either the Democrats or Republicans to ignore comprehensive immigration reform. Much of this turnaround is due to the termination and perseverance of the DREAMers and others in the immigration networks.

The question is whether something similar could happen over here?

Obviously there are many differences between the UK and the United States but lessons can and should be learnt if we are not to endure the continuing negativity of our immigration debate and the related timidity of our politicians.

This is a debate HOPE not hate is keen to have with other progressive organisations and our first step in this is bringing over Carlos Saavedra, the national organiser of United We Dream in February. We will be marking his visit with a series of articles and discussion on our website from both us and other interested organisations.

Civil Rights calendar

One hundred and fifty years ago this month President Abraham Lincoln signed the Proclamation of Emancipation which freed an estimated 500,000 slaves still subjugated by Southern states and in the process changed the course of the Civil War. Fifty years ago this year Martin Luther King made his 'I have a dream' speech.

To mark these events, HOPE not hate will be starting a Civil Rights calendar. We will soon be launching a special section on our website and every week we will be listing key events in the history of the civil rights struggle. There will be first hand accounts from some of those involved and, at key points during the year, we will be opening up our website to discussions about what was achieved and the situation for African Americans and more recent immigrants in the US today.

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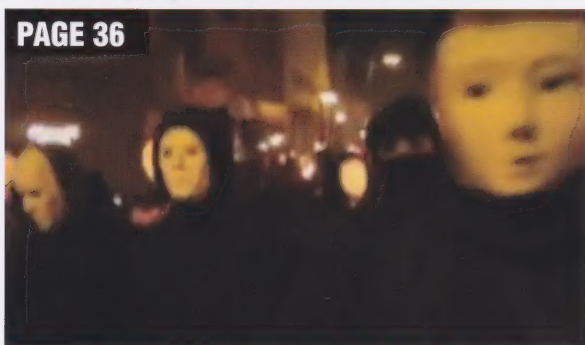
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An unlikely alliance fighting prejudice

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JULIE SIDDIQI

Julie Siddiqi, executive director of the Islamic Society of Britain, explores issues facing Muslims in Britain over the next year and calls for a closing working relationship with groups like HOPE not hate.



SARA KHAN

Sara Khan, director of Inspire, a British Muslim women's human rights organisation, looks at the ingrained misogyny within sections of the British Pakistani community



ANJUM ANWAR AND CHRIS CHIVERS

A Church of England vicar and a Muslim community worker working together on streets of Britain's most divided city

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 50,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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**HOPE
not hate**

SEE
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MORE INFORMATION



REWRITING HISTORY

HOLOCAUST REVISIONISM TODAY



REWRITING HISTORY

Holocaust revisionism today

Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today builds upon a similar publication we produced in 2000, in the immediate aftermath of David Irving's failed libel action. It seeks to take stock of how the Holocaust revisionist movement has changed in the intervening decade. The publication examines how its arguments have morphed and adapted in order to continue its primary function of raining down derision, defamation and hatred upon Jews. It looks at those who deny the Holocaust happened, those who question key facts in order to deliberately undermine its significance and those who attempt to relativise it in order to compare it to other conflicts and persecutions.

Rewriting history: Holocaust revisionism today; is a free e-book available in PDF and epub format. Copies are available to download from

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Bradford EDL Men Face Jail

TWO BRADFORD EDL activists have admitted taking part in violence following a protest in West Yorkshire earlier this year.

Stephen Woodhead and the Bradford EDL organiser Kevin Docherty (pictured) appeared at Leeds Crown Court both admitting violent offences dating back to March when the EDL held a small flash demonstration in the West Yorkshire town of

Cleckheaton.

After the demo a number of the protesters headed to the nearby towns of Dewsbury and Heckmondwike where violence and disorder soon broke out.

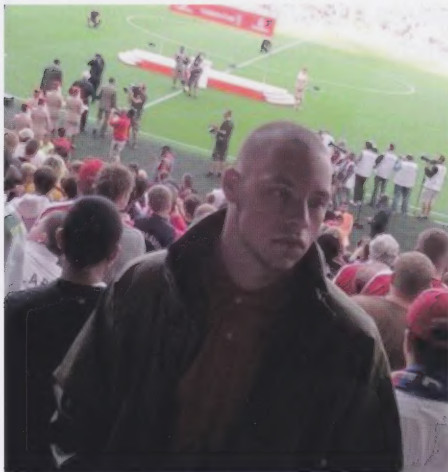
Docherty pleaded guilty to racially aggravated criminal damage and violent

disorder after two Asian men were chased through Dewsbury. Woodhead pleaded guilty to racially aggravated common assault.

The prosecution has applied to have anti-social behaviour orders imposed on them during sentencing which will now take place in January.



EDL Youth Leader Back In Court



Joel Titus banned from every football ground in the country

THE FORMER leader of the EDL youth division, who has been banned from every football ground in the country, has been spotted heading towards Arsenal matches, the Old Bailey heard.

Joel Titus was banned from attending football matches after he took charge of a mass brawl outside Liverpool Street station two years ago.

Titus, a Brentford supporter, led his fellow hooligans in a charge on rival Leyton Orient supporters in 2011. He was sentenced to nine months in a young offenders institution after he admitted affray.

However, he has attempted to circumvent the ban by switching allegiance to Arsenal, linking up with fellow hooligans in pubs, train stations and supporters' coaches, the Old Bailey heard.

Titus has also moved to the Highbury area to be closer to Arsenal's Emirates Stadium and has been spotted mixing with other hooligans before home games with Queens Park Rangers, Swansea and Marseilles last season.

On a previous occasion when he was arrested during one clash he was found with a hard-knuckle Kevlar glove.

Police are now applying for his football banning order to be extended to prevent a repeat of his behaviour.

He also travelled in a minibus to a fixture at Swansea's last January and took a supporters' coach to Stoke in April.

Prosecutor Kathryn Hirst said: "His conduct since the imposition of the banning order has been calculated to allow him to attend matches for a different club, or certainly the areas where fans congregate.

"It is Arsenal FC that it seems, subsequent to the order, has been the focus of his association with what are described as risk groups."

Titus was arrested after he was found near the Emirates on the day Arsenal played Swansea in September last year.

He was interviewed by police, but not charged on the advice of the Crown Prosecution Service.

Kevin Carroll Disrupts Remembrance Service

LUTON'S REMEMBRANCE Day service was disrupted when EDL joint leader and PCC candidate Kevin Carroll (pictured below), who objected to Green Party campaigner Marc Scheimann laying a wreath of white peace poppies.

Scheimann has laid a similar wreath for the past 24 years in memory of his German and British grandfathers who died on opposite sides in World War Two.

Carroll threatened, waved his fist and shouted aggressively at Scheimann and his four-year-old son.

"He called me a scumbag and said when he was police commissioner he would make sure I went to jail for this."

An eyewitness described the events as "an absolute disgrace. I've never experienced anything like it in the 48 years I've been going to the Cenotaph.

"It shows no respect for the men who never came back, who gave their lives for our freedom."

Carroll failed in his attempt to become police commissioner.



Stockport Dentist Jailed Over Terror Material



Dr Umer Farooq

A STOCKPORT dentist has been jailed for two years for having a catalogue of terrorist material on his computer.

Dr Umer Farooq pleaded guilty to 14 counts of possessing material likely to be useful in terrorism.

The Old Bailey was told this included copies of al-Qaeda magazine Inspire, the Terrorist Handbook of Explosives, and other documents.

Farooq was said to have an interest in manuals on explosives, guns, poisons and unarmed combat beyond that of curiosity.

The judge Mr Justice Fulford said: "He had some worrying interests. He had been reading or posting terrorist – related material for some time – even such matters as records of nuclear sites in the United States.

"He may not be a terrorist in that he has not been actively involved in terrorist acts but he is, in his interests, a fellow traveller."

Farooq was served with deportation documents and will be sent back to Pakistan after serving his sentence.

Detective Superintendent Mark Smith said: "We may never know the true intent behind Farooq's actions. Only he knows why he accessed materials on how to construct viable explosive devices."

Al Qaeda Woman jailed

A WOMAN WHO had terrorist material on her phone has been jailed for a year.

Anti-terrorist police raided the Islington home of Ruksana Begum in July.

The 22 year old appeared at the Old Bailey where she pleaded guilty to having material which was likely to be useful to someone committing or preparing an act of terrorism.

The court heard that her brothers, Gurukanth Desai and Abdul Miah, pleaded guilty to a plot to blow up the Stock Exchange and were sentenced to 12 and 16 years imprisonment respectively in February.

She admitted to having two editions of Al Qaida's Inspire magazine on her mobile phone, which included instructions on remote control detonation, handgun training and how to ignite forest fires.

EDL Leader Charged With Fraud

THE LEADER of the English Defence League has been charged with mortgage fraud.

Stephen Lennon – aka Tommy Robinson – is accused of three counts of conspiracy to commit fraud by false representation in relation to a mortgage application.

Lennon appeared before St Albans Magistrates' Court on 7 December.

He appeared with five others from Luton, Silsoe in Bedfordshire and Watford, who were arrested as part of the same investigation.

They face charges including fraud, money-laundering and possession of drugs with intent to supply.



Bristol EDL Organiser Arrested

THE BRISTOL organiser for the EDL has been arrested in connection with graffiti sprayed on mosques and Sikh temples.

Mickey Bayliss (pictured), from Upton Cheyney, South Gloucestershire was arrested in November along with a second man in connection with two incidents of criminal damage on mosques and a Sikh temple on Valley Road, Bedminster, and Church Road, Redfield, between September 21 and September 25.

The two, whose properties were subject to a police search, have been released on bail.

A police spokeswoman said: "A 47-year-old man has been arrested under suspicion of criminal damage and has been bailed until January. A 36-year-old man has been arrested in connection with the same investigation."



EDL Man In Petrol Bomb Rant

AN EDL activist from Cumbria encouraged people to attack an Indian takeaway with petrol bombs, a court has heard.

Former hospital worker Alan Clarke used Facebook to encourage people to attack a takeaway that was at the centre of a major child abuse probe.

Carlisle Crown Court heard how Alan Clarke's comments led to him being sacked by bosses at the city's Cumberland Infirmary.



Big mouth Alan Clarke

He admitted using Facebook to collude with others in a way that could have encouraged people to commit criminal damage – namely by attacking the Spice of India takeaway in Botchergate, Carlisle.

Police officers seized Clarke's computer from his Currock home and arrested him after alerting takeaway staff.

Clarke, who admitted to being a member of the EDL, insisted he did not intend the restaurant should actually be damaged.

The court heard that Clarke's previous offences included one committed during a football match and causing criminal damage to the Lazeez Indian takeaway on Blackwell Road in Currock.

Judge Batty told the defendant that, given his political leanings, his Facebook comments had an air of "triumphalism".

He added: "Fortunately, people in Carlisle have a lot more sense than you appear to have and people in Carlisle let justice take its course rather than following idiots like you and other such idiots who are involved in the so-called English Defence League."

Judge Batty imposed a 12-month jail term, suspending it for two years; 200 hours unpaid work; and an electronically monitored night-time curfew for the next six months.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: The mosquebuster page 18



SPAIN | Far-right capsizes in Catalan vote

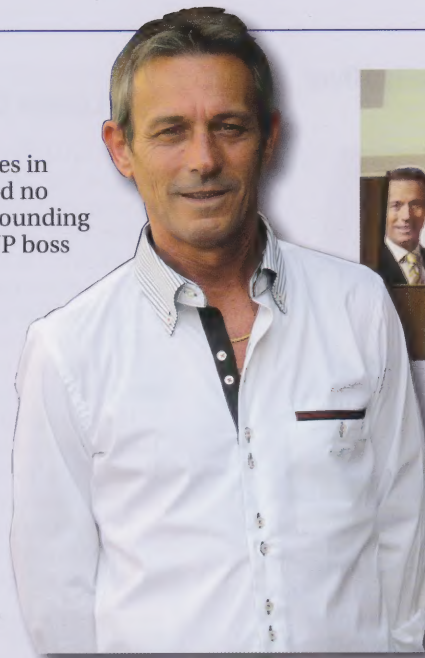
SANDRA CORTÈS REPORTS FROM BARCELONA

THE FASCIST Platform for Catalonia (PxC) lost more than 15,000 votes in November's Catalan regional elections, winning only 59,000 votes and no seats. Its leader, Josep Anglada, tendered his resignation after the resounding failure of his campaign, which had been personally supported by BNP boss Nick Griffin, at a rally in Barcelona just before the election.

Separately, an inept attempt by the Nazi Republican Social Movement (MSR) to infiltrate members into a new electoral bloc of small independent groups called *Hartos.org* turned into a fiasco after it was quickly exposed by anti-fascists, prompting the alliance to denounce fascism and racism publicly. This created a big crisis for the MSR's followers and for its image abroad as part of the Alliance of European Nationalist Movements to which it would have to explain its involvement with a project that publicly disowns fascism.

Hartos.org won only 15,000 votes, largely from people who neither knew the MSR nor identify with the far right.

Meanwhile, on the same day as the Catalan elections, dozens of mainly elderly fascists gathered in Madrid to commemorate dictator Francisco Franco and call for the unity of Spain against separatism.



Nick Griffin MEP supporting PxC boss Josep Anglada (left) at a rally in Barcelona

AUSTRIA | Strange path of Austrian justice

FROM MARTIN JORDAN FOR UNITED IN VIENNA

A COURT CASE against eight Austrian nazis thought to belong to the 'Alpen-Donau.info' website group has drawn to a close but questions remain about the way the prosecuting authorities handle cases against right-wing extremists. The eight men are believed to be linked to the youth wing of the Freedom Party, the RFJ, and members of the far-right student fraternity 'Germania'.

The eight stood trial in Graz in the spring charged with grievous bodily harm, resulting in six prison sentences and two acquittals. In May 2012, again in Graz, a new trial started against the same people

about the same incidents, this time on charges of re-engaging in National Socialist activities. The men had apparently shouted Nazi slogans while carrying out frenzied violence at a public viewing during the 2010 World Cup and, later that year, at a birthday party in a café.

Welded on to this "follow-up" court case was another concerning activity in support of Holocaust denier Gert Honsik. For this part, the prosecution also dragged in two new suspects, one of whom was Franz Radl, a convicted Nazi affiliated to the Freedom Party. The outcome of this latest case at the start of December is a further five convictions and prison sentences (including two years for Radl) and five acquittals.

Now questions are being asked as to why it took the authorities almost two years to start the original trial against the eight nazis and why the prosecutors decided to treat the offences as separate cases while the official indictment did not.



GERMANY | German far-right party hit by £1.04m fine

A GERMAN COURT has ordered the Nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) to pay a fine of €1.27 million (£1.04 million) for submitting a false financial statement in 2007.

The German Parliament had initially demanded a fine of €2.5 million (£2.3 million) but the Federal Administrative Court in Leipzig ruled that the ban-threatened NPD must pay the €1.27 million penalty for its false return. The decision was the final ruling in the case and is a heavy blow to the NPD, which has suffered heavy losses despite the fact that state funds make up almost half

its income.

The heads of Germany's 16 federal states unanimously agreed in early December to push ahead with moves to ban the NPD despite the reservations of Chancellor Angela Merkel. The last attempt to ban the party, which currently holds seats in two state parliaments – Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Saxony in eastern Germany – was rejected in the Constitutional Court in 2003. Nationwide, the NPD polls well below the five per cent hurdle required to guarantee parliamentary representation, though it is strong in some states and municipalities especially in parts of former East Germany.



Gerolf Annemans new chairman of Vlaams Belang

BELGIUM | Annemans is new VB leader

BY WIM HAELSTERMAN FOR AFF-VERZET / RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS.

AT A SPECIAL meeting of the Vlaams Belang (VB) party council, held in Antwerp on 1 December, the far-right party confirmed Gerolf Annemans, 54, as its new chairman. Annemans, a



Erik Almqvist's acting career came to an abrupt end

SWEDEN | Swedish scandals

DANIEL VERGARA REPORTS FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

IN NOVEMBER, the Swedish newspaper *Expressen* released a film from 2010 documenting a lads' night out in Stockholm with three top Sweden Democrats (SD). The film, recorded by SD MP Kent Ekeröth, showed another SD parliamentarian, Erik Almqvist, hurling racist abuse at a well-known Swedish comedian, saying "this country is mine, you're a traitor to Sweden. When we get power you will have problems".

When a girl confronted him over his behaviour, he called her "a whore". The footage showed Ekeröth pushing a girl, causing her to fall back onto a car, and Swedes were also treated to the sight of Ekeröth, Almqvist and fellow party member, Christian Westling,

armed with iron bars, swaggering along the streets of the capital.

After the scandal, Erik Almqvist was urged by party leaders to step down from parliament for "political misbehaviour" but he is still there and remains a party member. Ekeröth who pushed the girl and filmed the incidents without intervening to stop them was lightly reprimanded.

For SD leader Jimmie Åkesson, Ekeröth had not violated the party's political values and is still welcome in its parliamentary group. Days after that scandal, a new one broke out when SD MP Lars Isovaara quit his seat after being reported to the police for racially insulting a security guard in parliament while drunk.

CZECH REPUBLIC | Nazi paraphernalia seized

CZECH NEWS AGENCY (CTK)

CZECH POLICE have uncovered an internet shop selling nazi paraphernalia and seized more than 2,000 CDs, T-shirts, sweatshirts and other merchandise that two brothers – who run the shop from an address in Most – were also touting abroad. If convicted, the pair face up to 10 years in prison.

A court expert assessing more than 2,000 items seized in raids concluded that about 70 percent of them were objectionable. Investigator Stepan Vaclavik said the brothers had run the business semi-clandestinely.

"They checked every customer and only sold the most harmful objects to thoroughly-checked individuals," Vaclavik explained, adding that they also had some dealers who were buying the goods for re-sale at nazi concerts.

The police will bring charges against them early next year. The criminal act of establishment, support to and propaganda for a movement suppressing human rights and freedoms is punishable by up to five years in prison. However, as the men used the internet, the punishment could be as much as 10 years in prison.

UKRAINE | Ukraine far right party boasts about gassing gays in Kyiv

A UKRAINIAN extremist nationalist party has bragged about attacking gay protesters in the capital Kyiv in early December. Svoboda, whose name means "freedom" and is linked to France's National Front, the British National Party and Hungary's Jobbik party, has admitted responsibility for targeting a pro-LGBT demonstration marking International Human Rights Day on 8 December.

Writing on its official website, the party boasted about spraying teargas at peaceful activists who were protesting at the country's proposed new law banning "gay propaganda".

"Thanks to five nationalists, the Sabbath of 50 perverts was broken

up," the statement read, according to the *Kyiv Post*. In the violence, one LGBT protester was left with a broken nose and six people were arrested, including five Svoboda Party members.

The far-right party, which is homophobic and antisemitic, has 38 seats in Ukraine's parliament having won a record number of votes in elections in October 2012. The party emphasises Ukraine's cultural identity, regards former Soviet rule as an occupation of Ukrainian territory, scorns the Kremlin and claims Ukrainian superiority over Russians.

A 'homosexual propaganda' bill, similar to one passed in St Petersburg in Russia earlier in 2012, is currently passing through parliament and will censor the media, civil society activists and human rights defenders.



Far-right Svoboda party has admitted targeting peaceful demonstration against Ukraine's 'homosexual propaganda' bill.

nationalist hardliner, won the race for the presidency defeating MEP Philip Claeys by 54 votes to 41 after two ballots.

Annemans replaces Bruno Valkeniers who had never managed to find his way out of Philip Dewinter's shadow and was unable to overcome the various conflicts that have paralysed and seriously damaged the VB.

Annemans joined the 'Vlaams Blok', the VB's predecessor, in the mid-

1980s and was the second federal MP in its history. He is a more intellectual and traditional Flemish nationalist – "Mustapha isn't my worst enemy, the Belgian state is" – than Philip Dewinter, who many consider the real leader of the VB, but is far away from being Dewinter's opposite. A different style and language, maybe, but the same views in the end. It is unlikely the party will change course in any dramatic way.

■ For the latest international news visit www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/ or scan the QR code right >>

■ Country in Focus: Netherlands p38



ISRAEL | Losing Power

ISRAEL'S CENTRAL Elections Committee has ordered the far-right Power to Israel to halt publication of campaign material it deems racist.

The committee's chairman, Supreme Court judge Elyakim Rubinstein, issued a court injunction in mid-December banning the use of campaign posters featuring Arabic text accompanied by the slogan "Because without duties, there are no rights" and ruling that the posters seek to offend and humiliate the entire Arab population.

Complaints about the campaign were filed by a group of left-wing activists led by former Meretz MK Mossi Raz. In his ruling Rubinstein wrote that the posters were aimed at presenting the Arab public at large as disloyal to the state and would "with a great degree of certainty offend members of the Arab population."

Wrote Rubinstein in his ruling: "This racist rhetoric may also offend Jews, who to this day continue to be racially targeted all over the world. We Jews have been discriminated against as a minority throughout our history and therefore the prevention of even a hint of racism against the minority living among us, should be part of our genetic makeup."

Party leaders and MKs Michael Ben Ari and Aryeh Eldad expressed dissatisfaction with Rubinstein's decision and claimed that the campaign's message lies within the boundaries of freedom of expression.

SOUTH AFRICA | Bomb plot foiled

SOUTH AFRICAN police appear to have foiled a plot to bomb a conference attended by President Jacob Zuma and dozens of top government officials.

Four men, all white, aged between 40 and 50 were arrested on 16 December and are understood to belong to the Federal Freedom Party (FFP).

A police spokesman says evidence has been uncovered that the quartet was planning acts around the country and not just at the African National Congress (ANC) meeting in Bloemfontein.

Police spokesman Billy Jones said: "Their acts are widespread. We

arrested them in different provinces."

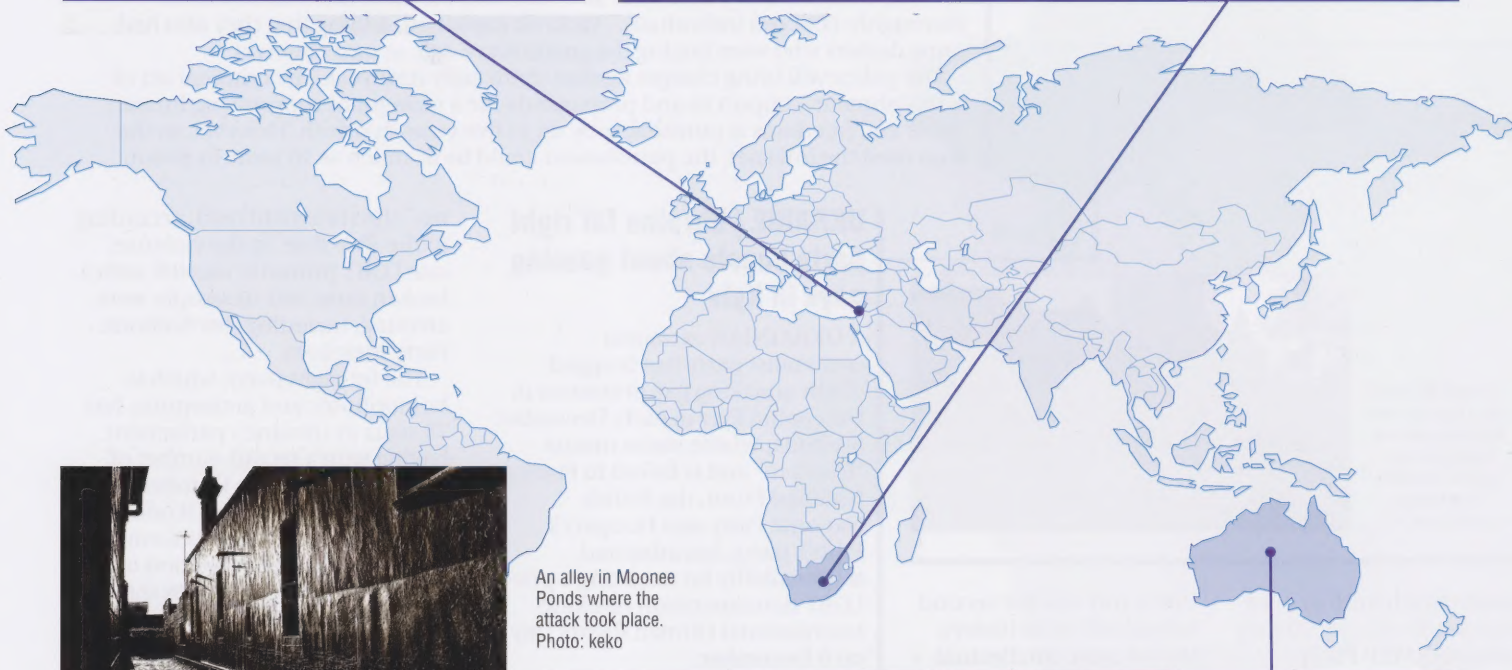
ANC spokesman Keith Khoza said that preliminary information suggested the men were planning to bomb the marquee where Zuma and 4,500 delegates were holding a five-day meeting to choose the ANC's leadership for the next five years.

He said: "This would have been an act of terrorism that South Africa can ill afford."

The FFP is a racist fringe group fighting for self-determination for the white Afrikaner minority. It confirmed that two of the arrested men belong to the organisation but denied any role in the suspected plot.

"We were not involved and do

not associate ourselves with their actions," FFP national secretary Francois Cloete said. In July, a former university lecturer was found guilty of orchestrating a 2002 plot to overthrow the ANC and assassinate former president Nelson Mandela.



An alley in Moonee Ponds where the attack took place. Photo: keko

AUSTRALIA | Nazis in the can

AN AUSTRALIAN judge jailed two self-styled nazis in December, along with a youth who cannot named because of his age, for the brutal beating of an Asian student that left him "almost unrecognisable as a human being". The two nazis, Shannon Hudson, 21 and Wayne O'Brien, 20 attacked Vietnamese student Minh Duong as he walked

home from work in June. The assault in a Melbourne suburb left the 21-year-old unconscious in the gutter in a pool of blood.

Residents called police after hearing Duong's screams as he was racially abused and repeatedly hit, kicked and stabbed and smashed over the head with a brick with such force it broke. He was rushed to hospital in a critical condition.

Justice Betty King described the attack as brutal, saying it was sparked by the men's racist beliefs. Hudson was sentenced to 10-and-a-half years in jail, while O'Brien was given a four-and-

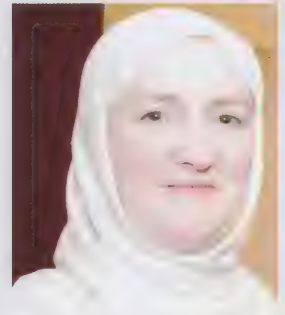
a-half-year sentence. Judge King said photographs of the victim's injuries were "horrendous", adding: "He is almost unrecognisable as a human being."

O'Brien, who along with Hudson pleaded guilty to intentionally causing serious injury, told police they were part of a nazi skinhead group that disliked Asians, Jews and blacks. A series of attacks on foreigners in Australia has gained global attention in recent years, most notably the 2010 murder of an Indian national in Melbourne who was stabbed to death as he walked home.

Guest column...

Celebrating the past, organising for the future

by Julie Siddiqi



WHAT A GREAT YEAR 2012 was! As the country came together to watch the Olympics it was brilliant to see people from all backgrounds, colours, shapes and sizes take part in the Games.

I went with my children to a couple of events and it was a real inspiration.

A highlight for many of course was the amazing Mo Farah. Wow! The whole country was literally on its feet cheering him on. The small Somalian, who was once a refugee escaping a war-torn country, has become a national treasure.

Who can forget the images of Mo on his lap of honour, draped in a union jack and dismissing outright the journalist who even tried to hint that maybe he was not 'British'?

A proud moment for Britain and Mo surely showed what this country is really about. And yes, he is a Muslim.

The latest census shows that Muslims make up nearly 5% of the population. Around half live in London and are from as diverse backgrounds as the rest of London. Every single constituency in the country has Muslim voters who are not in Britain but Muslims of Britain.

Most Muslims are now third generation who were born and brought up here and grew up watching Grange Hill and eating Golden Wonder crisps. The good, the bad and the ugly aspects of this country are the responsibility of us all.

Do we have issues and concerns coming specifically from Muslim communities in Britain? Of course we do. But we are also aware that for some, it is open



Mo surely showed what this country is really about. And yes, he is a Muslim. Photo: Ciamabue

season to attack or put down Muslims at every opportunity. Pigs heads outside Mosques, made-up newspaper headlines on a regular basis, violent anti-Muslim assaults against mainly Muslim women, misunderstandings and misconceptions – they are still too common.

Easy answers? No, of course not.

What can be done? I believe that working together, living together, eating together, laughing together, solving these problems together has to be the way forward.

In the summer of 2012 it was Ramadan for Muslims. Not easy because fasting for 30 of some of the longest and hottest days of the year was a challenge for sure! But at the Islamic Society of Britain we led the Ramadan Festival with other partners. A coming together of Muslims who opened up Ramadan, who said to others: 'Come and learn about us, come and meet people in our communities, come and share a meal with us'.

And our work with HOPE not hate went up a level in 2012.

An advert went out and very quickly interest came from people wanting to take part in 'Dine@ Mine Week'. Muslims opening up their homes to people of all backgrounds to share the fast-opening meal (Iftar) with them. And the results were amazing! Such great stories, so many wonderful photos.

We are looking at ways to make this even bigger and better in 2013 – I can't wait!

The work that HOPE not hate is doing is crucial. It has been a privilege to get to know Nick and the team and see what our common concerns are and where we can work together.

At the Islamic Society of Britain our main aims are to help Muslims understand the faith as confident British Muslims, encouraging participation in all aspects of the country and to help neighbours around us who are not Muslim to understand Islam better.

We have all seen the images of angry young men, calling

themselves Muslims, shouting and screaming their views and actually making a mockery of what we believe Islam is. They do not speak for the majority of Muslims. The far right groups and the rhetoric that they use against Muslims is damaging and needs addressing.

Working together as ISB and HnH we can look at creative and effective ways to speak out against both elements in our society. We must not allow small groups of people from any background to dictate our agenda for us.

Let's keep the feelgood factor from London 2012 alive in 2013 because it was very real. Let's speak, meet, eat and laugh together. Get to know each other. Ask the difficult questions, find some answers. Build genuine friendships and live and learn together.

I am excited and optimistic but accept the challenges which lie ahead.

Julie Siddiqi is Executive Director of the Islamic Society of Britain www.isb.org.uk

Living the Dream



Nick Lowles on how a progressive alliance led by undocumented students has forced Democrats and Republicans to deal with immigration.

The first President Obama knew something was up was when Mercedes Gonzalez, an 18-year-old student from Tennessee, stood up in the front row. He stuttered and looked down nervously. Mercedes was a beacon of resistance within the Latino community as she was resisting attempts to deport her back to Mexico from where she had come seven years before.

Mercedes was also an activist with United We Dream, better known as the DREAMers, a group of young Latino illegal immigrants who had come together in 2009 to fight for their right to education and become US citizens.

Obama said he understood the pain of the Latino community and wanted to enact immigration reform, but that his hands were tied by a Republican Congress.

But Mercedes and the 20 other DREAMers in the crowd of 500 Latino delegates were not buying it. They had heard his nice words before but also felt the pain and anguish of Homeland security who, since 2009, had deported more than one million people. One by one they began to stand, clapping and chanting 'Yes You Can' directly at the President.

Others in the audience were unaware that the conference organisers had tried to keep the DREAMers out for fear of upsetting their relationship with the President so close to the election. They too began to chant.

Obama smiled, nervously, and put up his hand for calm. The chanting continued. The DREAMers had made their point.

A top down approach

Immigration reform is a politically sensitive issue. The last serious legislation dated back to 1986 and the Ronald Reagan era and more recent attempts to create a pathway to citizenship for the estimated 11 million

illegal immigrants had stumbled, been blocked and even created a right wing backlash.

The latest attempt was a bipartisan effort by Democrat Senator Ted Kennedy and Republican John McCain in 2007, but despite great hopes this failed to get the 60 votes in the Senate. And with it appeared to go the chances of comprehensive immigration reform.

Now a new generation of activists were emerging, younger, more militant and outside the political beltway. They were no longer willing to wait for favours from the political establishment. They were determined to force the issue.

Realignment

"2007 was a devastating defeat," says Frank Sharry, executive director of America's Voice, an organisation that serves as the communications arm of the immigration reform movement. "The theory of winning was top down. It was about finding champions in Congress but we were simply out-organised."

But a lesson was learnt. "We had to have a new strategy. We needed to build a movement that would force politicians to act. We needed to create a situation where they do it not because they want to but because they have to."

The election of President Obama in 2008 gave some hope that immigration reform would finally be dealt with but this soon evaporated as his administration became caught in the quagmire of health reform and an increasingly hardline Republican Party. In response, the immigration lobby began to downsize their immediate objectives on what they considered was a smaller, more achievable goal – focusing on creating a pathway to citizenship for school-age illegal immigrants.

The DREAM Act (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) was first introduced into the Senate in 2001 but against the backdrop of 9/11

and the larger focus on comprehensive immigration reform it gained little support.

"What movement lowers their demands when they were a growing strength?" Sharry asks. "A smart one."

Suddenly, the issue was no longer 11 million undocumented workers but just one million children and young people. They believed it was much easier to sell to the general public.

In late 2010 the Dream Act came before both Congress and the Senate but by then the Democrats had experienced an electoral meltdown and there was little chance of the bill passing. While the vote was carried by 55-41 in the Senate it fell as it required 60 votes to move the motion forward.

For the young DREAMers, 200 of whom sat in the public gallery in the hope of watching history, this was yet another massive defeat. But for others it was both expected and important. "We knew the Dream Act was not going to pass," remembers Sharry. "But it was all about field position. We needed to call people out and make them take sides."

The momentum was firmly with opponents of immigration reform and with the Tea Party rampant tougher immigration controls were introduced in many states. In April 2010 the Republican Governor of Arizona, Jan Brewer, signed the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighbourhoods Act (Arizona SB 1070), the broadest and strictest immigration reform imposed in the United States. The following year an even more draconian law was passed in Alabama.

While the Obama administration took to the courts to overturn these new laws the tide remained strongly against any positive immigration reform, so much so that Mitt Romney felt he had little option but to tack right during the Republican primaries. He opposed any path to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented workers and said that

the Arizona law was a model for others. He also suggested that conditions for illegal immigrants should be made so intolerable that they "self-deport".

They were words that were to haunt him through the actual campaign. "Romney was a gift which just kept giving," Sharry says with a broad grin.

While the Obama campaign was quick to portray Romney as an anti-immigrant extremist there was little positive action on his side. In part this was simple electoral arithmetic but there were also people around him advising against pushing forward on immigration reform, including his former Chief of Staff and now Chicago Mayor, Rahm Emanuel. Time and again he and others argued that Obama would lose support among working class whites if he pursued immigration reform and so lose the election.

In fact, the Obama administration actually went further in enforcing immigration laws and deportations than their Republican predecessors. More people were deported from the US for being illegal immigrants in Obama's first three-and-a-half years in office than in George W Bush's two terms.

And it was the forced nature of these deportations that angered so many young immigrants and persuaded them to get involved in Immigration reform campaigns.

That was the case with Renata Teodoro, a DREAMer from Boston. Renata graduated in 2006 as a recipient of the Abigail Adams Scholarship, a prestigious academic merit scholarship, but could not use it because of her immigration status. While her friends talked excitedly about college and employment Renata lived in the fear of deportation and restricted access to employment.



Renata Teodoro, a DREAMer from Boston

In 2008 immigration officers swooped on her family home. Like so many others, they were moved to undisclosed locations across the country in preparation for deportation.

Renata was not at home at the time of the raid so instead she was left with a simple choice. Stay hidden or hand herself in. "My family sacrificed so much that we could get to America and have a better life," she says.

She decided to stay and soon she was getting involved in her local immigration rights group. She quickly grew into a leadership role within the DREAMers.

In 2010 she took part in a protest outside the White House along with other illegal immigrants as part of the 'Coming Out' parties in which they announced to the world that they were undocumented. "I'm not going to lie and say that I'm not afraid of someone coming in and trying to arrest me, but I can't let that fear take over my life," she told the *Washington Post* at the time.

"The only way of people finding out about my situation is to tell my story."

Telling their stories has become a central element of their campaign tactics. From their website to public meetings, the DREAMers begin every conversation with their story. It not only informs an audience of their struggle but creates a common bond with those in a similar situation.

On one occasion, in a bid to get Massachusetts' two Senators to challenge a massive immigration swoop in the state, Carlos and his fellow student organisers virtually locked Ted Kennedy and John Kerry in a room with a group of DREAMers before unleashing them on the waiting media outside.

One of the most significant 'Coming Out' events organised by the DREAMers was when Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Jose Antonio Vargas shocked American society by declaring that he too was an undocumented immigrant. His story, and that of several others, including Renata, was captured in a cover story in *Time* magazine.

Progressive alliance

The DREAMers, and other immigrant groups like the National Immigration Youth Alliance, who were involved in a lot of the direct action such as the hunger strike at Obama's headquarters in Denver, were not acting alone. Years of defeat and political marginalisation had led to a reconfiguration of the immigration movement. Groups began to work together through the understanding that a victory for one group helped others in their own struggles.

The case for unity was, of course, helped by the fact their opponents



tended to be the same right wing Republicans so it became easier to sell this coalition of interests to their respective supporters.

Young and old hands worked together and this relationship was mutually beneficial. "The DREAMers are young and talented, loving and fearless," says Frank Sharry. "They have rejuvenated the movement."

"There were times when we did not know what to do or who to contact but we could turn to people like Frank for help," says Carlos Saavedra, national organiser for United We Dream.

The 'anti-hate table' was another example of how different groups began working together. Chaired by Henry Fernandez from the Center for American Progress, the 'anti-hate table' brought together those involved in research, policy, communications and campaigns for the first time.

"It meant explaining to the communications groups that they needed the background research if they were really going to take on the anti-immigrant groups," says Fernandez. "It meant telling the researchers that they were in the news cycle. It meant telling the policy people that this was actually a cultural war."

The 'anti-hate table' was particularly effective in revealing the true nature and ideology of those involved in the anti-immigration movement. "We decided to go after the haters," recalls Sharry. "It was a really big deal when the Southern Poverty Law Center defined FAIR [Federation For American Immigration Reform] as a 'hate' group. This helped define them with the media, politicians and policy gatekeepers."

The impetus behind the 'anti-hate table' were the Center for New Community and the Center for Community Change, and supported by several big funding foundations.

They demanded people work together for the common good. Groups were encouraged, cajoled and even embarrassed into co-operating and sharing information.

2012 elections

Few expected immigration reform to be central to the recent Presidential elections. While the Democrats were effectively highlighting Romney's intolerant position in order to garner favour with new immigrant communities there was little on offer in terms of position reform. Indeed, there was a general acceptance among the main organisations representing black and Latino communities that this would have to wait until after Obama's re-election.

But this was unacceptable for the DREAMers. "We were not going to sit back and wait for Obama," says Carlos. "If he wanted our support then he had to give us something in return."

To the horror of Democrats, the DREAMers began agitating for reform. They occupied Obama campaign offices and with the help of people like Frank Sharry organised for dozens of lawyers to co-sign a letter to President Obama explaining how he had the authority to sign an Executive Order to defer deportations and create a path to citizenship for students.

Obama's campaign initially refused to budge but the pressure grew. In mid-June the DREAMers organised a national day of action, which included hundreds of their supporters blocking roads in Los Angeles.

Finally, Obama relented and on 15 June he signed an executive order, something he had long claimed that he was unable to do. Over 1.4 million young people could now start a process to become US citizens. Latino enthusiasm for Obama went through the roof and soon the DREAMers and others diverted their energies to ensuring his re-election.

In addition to Obama being re-elected, the November elections saw a swathe of progressive legislation passed or upheld at a state level and this owed much to the success of the progressive alliance. Voters in three states voted to legalise gay marriage and a fourth state voted against a proposed ban. All four votes were carried with large numbers of African American and Latino voters, something which could not have been imagined only a few years before.

Maryland was one of the states where gay marriage was passed. Forty-six percent of African Americans supported the gay marriage bill and nationally exit polls suggested that 52% of both black and Latino voters backed the move.

This was quite some change from previous years. In 2008 and 2009 Pew



Research Center surveys showed that just 28% of African Americans and 39% of Latinos backed gay marriage. The passing of Proposition 8 in California in 2008, which enshrined in law that "only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized", owed much to the 70% of African Americans who backed it.

Maryland also upheld the right of illegal immigrants to remain in public schools as long as their families filed state tax returns in a local referendum. It was, in effect, a local Dream Act.

The Maryland Dream Act passed the state's General Assembly in 2011 but was immediately greeted with a firestorm from the right. Over 120,000 people signed a petition started by a local Republican which halted the law pending a referendum. Immigrant rights groups sprung into action and a range of organisations representing a broad coalition of education, faith, unions and civil rights groups came together to establish the Educating Maryland Kids Committee (EDKC).

The referendum was passed by a huge margin, including 75% of African American voters. This was impressive as only a few years before there had been tensions between some in the African American community and new illegal immigrants from central and South America.

"It was black/brown unity," says Gustavo Andrade, lead community organiser at CASA de Maryland, an organisation that exists to defend and promote the rights of immigrants. Alliances were built with unions, between communities and women and gay groups. Their efforts to develop a progressive alliance where each group helped one another was helped by the fact that the man behind the anti-Dream Act petition was also heavily involved in efforts to block gay marriage.

Obama's decision to sign the executive order was used by EDKC as an organising tool. "We set up mass clinics for deferred

deportation," says Andrade. "We helped people fill out the forms needed to start the process. Over 4,000 students were helped but this also brought them into contact with the wider campaign."

Unfinished business

President Obama was elected by a comfortable majority in November's election and most political commentators immediately pointed to the importance of the Latino vote. Immigration reform is now at the top of the political agenda and even most Republicans understand that they have to adopt a different approach if they are ever to win the White House again.

But Carlos Saavedra and the DREAMers are taking nothing for granted. "People are not going to hug the president right now," he says. "They are waiting for him to take some action."

At the United We Dream conference in early December delegates voted to continue to press the political establishment to deliver improvements to the treatment and conditions of young immigrants. But they also agreed to make wider comprehensive immigration reform a priority, campaign for general health and employment rights and for themselves to become "more inclusive of non-Latinos, LGBTQ communities, differently-abled people, people of faith, and other groups."

"United We Dream is ready to redefine political realities and push for a bold vision for the future," Lorella Praeli, Director of Advocacy and Policy told the conference. "When no one thought it possible, DREAMers forced the DREAM Act onto the political agenda and nearly won. And when no one thought it possible, DREAMers successfully drove the President of the United States to stop deporting us and offer us work permits ... the mandate for immigration reform has never been more clear. Our political leaders can and should take this moment to define a new course."

Whither the Republican Party?

While many policy issues were debated, the real choice being made on election day was between an inclusive American identity and the bankrupt vestiges of white supremacy. *Eric O'Neill* gives the view from Washington DC

The Real Birth of a Nation

It was election night 2012 and newspapers, blogs, radio, and television stations were calling the re-election for President Barack Obama.

At the same time chief Republican strategist Karl Rove, engrossed in re-visioning history, was busily trying to convince the American public that, despite mounting evidence to the contrary, President Obama had lost against challenger Mitt Romney.

Even the “news” anchors of the Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox News were having a hard time with Rove’s arithmetic. Fox News personality Megyn Kelly finally was forced to ask Rove: “Is this just math that you do as a Republican to make yourself feel better?”

The following days would find pundits, theorists, and activists of the political right stumbling to “do the math” and arrive at a number they could actually comprehend. Meanwhile, back in the real world, the rest of America was celebrating the birth of a nation grounded not in the intolerance of old but rather in hopes of a future multi-racial democracy.

Despite the conservative and white nationalist formations’ political fantasies, Obama not only dominated the election with 332 electoral college votes but also won the popular vote. Considering the Republican Party and others on the right launched their anti-Obama campaign barely days after Obama’s first 2008 election, this should be considered quite a feat.

To place the recent campaign victory in perspective, in terms of an electoral college vote count, only 12 out of 42 previous US presidents can claim a similar achievement.

While many policy issues were debated, the real choice being made on election day was between an inclusive American identity and the bankrupt vestiges of white supremacy. The Republican Party chose to rely on its traditional campaign tools of fear mongering, race baiting, voter suppression, and its Southern strategy with disastrous results.

Although Republicans were able to maintain their virtually all-white base in the American south, Obama still won 27% of the white vote there. In every other region of the United States, Obama received between 42% and 52% of the white vote. This was despite attempts by Republican activists and others to ‘racialise’ the political campaign through the utilisation of “Birther” attacks and the use of Islamophobia. Instead, it was white voters in Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Ohio, Vermont, and Wisconsin who delivered those states’ electoral votes to Obama on election night.

What does this reveal? It unveils the troubled state of the Grand Old Party (GOP). Both its leadership and the white nationalists who orbit around the party know it is failing. The Republican Party has not won the popular vote since 1988 and attempting to change voter demographics will only make it harder.

White Nationalism and Secessionism

Nearly 50 years to the day of the election of Barack Obama, the University of Mississippi exploded in violence when African American James Meredith attempted to register at the all-white university and a white segregationist mob attacked. Two people were killed and many more injured. It seems little has changed at the University of Mississippi since the fall of 1962.

On election night 2012, an anti-Obama protest on the very same campus grew into a crowd of 400 students shouting racial abuse. Two arrests occurred before the disturbance was broken up. A month before the elections, Republican state lawmakers in Georgia convened a closed door meeting to discuss – seriously – whether Obama was part of a conspiracy to utilise mind control techniques that would persuade the American public to adopt “socialism.” The presentation went on to compare Obama to Mao and Stalin.

On election night, closed-minded conservative television personality Bill O’Reilly lamented that “The white establishment is now the minority.” In Texas, one Republican lawmaker called for the state to leave the Union and soon far-right activists in 30 other states began filing petitions to do the same. One might laugh off these episodes as simply isolated incidents. Rather than seeing them

as sporadic, however, they more likely reflect why the current US electoral vote map – ironically or frighteningly, depending on one’s point of view – resembles a similar map showing the geographic boundaries between slave states and those states opposed to slavery during the American Civil War.

White nationalist John Derbyshire, a British-born naturalised American, analysed the current situation by saying: “When you look at the overall picture, however, we are still fighting the Civil War.” Earlier in 2012, Derbyshire wrote: “White supremacy, in the sense of a society in which key decisions are made by white Europeans, is one of the better arrangements history has come up with.”

An Electoral Hat Trick

On election night, the Democrats pulled off a “hat trick” by winning the White House, gaining additional seats in the Senate (upper house), and in the House of Representatives (lower house). However, it wasn’t just the Democratic Party which succeeded but an emerging collaboration of millions of Latinos, African-Americans, women, young people, and largely white working class and middle class Northern voters seeking to send a message that the time has arrived for the United States to embrace the principles of inclusion and opportunity over greed and scapegoating.

Republicans who in recent decades resolved themselves



to campaigning on a platform of bigotry wrapped in the American flag were simply unprepared for what occurred that evening.

The facts: 93% of African Americans voted for Obama; 71% of Latinos voted the same way; 55% of women chose Obama over Romney; and perhaps predicting the future, 60% of young voters were convinced he should lead the country for another four years.

While still decades away from taking permanent hold, the election underscores America's changing demographics, the willingness of whites and others to forge a single identity across lines of race and gender and the ability of this growing America to speak out against organised bigotry not only in rallies and emails, but with the vote as well. The results paint a different portrait of America.

Xenophobes, Islamophobes and Tea Baggers

In Arizona after easily winning election after election, the anti-immigrant Sheriff Joe

Arpaio was fighting to save his political life. It took nearly three weeks to count the votes and Arpaio just held his seat with 50.7% of the vote. The election nearly cost the Republicans a Senate seat as well. Arpaio was forced to spend \$7 million dollars to hold on in what is now known as the most expensive Sheriff's election campaign in US History.

Congressman Brian Bilbray wasn't so lucky. Bilbray, the former lobbyist for the xenophobic Federation for American Immigration Reform, lost his re-election campaign by a little over 2,000 votes. Bilbray also held the influential position of head of the Immigration Reform Caucus in Congress, a hornet's nest of xenophobic law-making.

Both Bilbray and Arpaio had been targeted by grassroots campaigns fed up with their anti-immigrant activity and statements. In Maryland, African-Americans turned out in large numbers to reject an anti-immigrant election initiative that would have banned the

children of undocumented immigrants from attending college. As in Illinois and Mississippi, African-Americans are showing that anti-immigrant sentiment no longer can be tolerated.

On the other hand, the coalition on the political right was simply unable to deliver. The Tea Party took a severe beating on election night and found itself trying to understand why only four of its 16 endorsed Senate candidates won. National Tea Party leader and strategist Jim DeMint resigned his Senate seat and, just days preceding DeMint's departure, former Republican Majority Leader Congressman Dick Armey stepped down as chairman of the Tea Party-affiliated organisation Freedom Works.

Tea Party damage

These resignations are a clear sign of the damage caused to the Tea Party movement during the recent elections. Islamophobes fared no better. Republican Representatives Joe Walsh, Adam Hasner, and Chip Cravaack, along with Republican candidate Charlie

Fuqua, were defeated on election night.

Each was well known for their "Counter-Jihadist" activity before or during the campaign season. Another who felt the wrath of a united America was anti-Muslim Congresswoman Michele Bachmann who won her bid for re-election, winning by only 3,000 votes (50.9%) and having to spend \$11 million of her \$13 million dollar war chest to do so. In summary, the elections cost those seeking to divide Americans along differences, rather than committing to forging a common identity, very heavily both politically and financially.

More work needs to be done in between elections to make real the promises of policy change grounded in fairness. There are also those who will continue to use their political clout in attempts to sow disunity by replanting the seeds of racism and bigotry.

However, those who champion a society grounded on civil and human rights should not ignore the lessons of the election. A more united America is on the horizon. ●

The mosquebuster

Late last year a smartly dressed man in an office in Bristol was celebrating a decision to refuse a planning application for a mosque in Chingford, Essex. It was just the latest in a long list of victories for Gavin Boby. *Dave Porter* profiles a man who strives to block new mosques because of his hatred of Islam and Muslims in general.



If the 'counter-jihad' movement in the UK and abroad were looking for a poster boy for their activities, they need not look much further than Gavin Bobby.

The smooth-talking, self-styled 'mosquebuster' is fast gaining a reputation as the man to turn to for anyone opposing a planning application for a mosque in their neighbourhood.

And the Bristol-based planning lawyer – who offers his services to communities for free – boasts a worryingly high success rate: 15 out of 16 planning applications Bobby has been involved in have so far been turned down.

But who is Bobby and why is he being feted by the Far Right in the UK and abroad as their saviour?

It is not his day job as a planning lawyer which is attracting attention for the snappily-dressed 48-year-old but the work he does pro bono under the guise of the Law and Freedom Foundation. He originally started offering his services last year under the provocatively titled 'Mosquebusters' moniker, complete with a lurid logo featuring radical cleric Abu Hamza.

But this website was hastily changed to the more formal and innocuous-sounding Law and Freedom Foundation. Calling himself the 'Lawman', Bobby's website talks about Islam being a "violent religion" and says that the "most visible problem" in society today is the "ethnic division between Islamic and non-Islamic society and the violence at the heart of Islamic doctrine."

This gets straight to the heart of Bobby's philosophy – if it can be called that – and one of the arguments he uses for opposing planning applications when they come up at council meetings: the idea that Islamic doctrine incites violence and is contrary to civil and criminal law in the UK.

This creed is not accepted as a valid planning objection by local authorities and objections can only be lodged on grounds of parking, nuisance, size and location of buildings etc. His success nevertheless is alarming.

A quick scour of his website reveals the gloating joy he brings to his work, with headlines such as 'Megamosque halted', 'Slam dunk in Maidenhead' and 'Stopped a big one in Luton'. The list of mosque applications



A screen grab from Bobby's website

he's prevented so far range across the country from Dudley to Chingford, Northampton to Ealing, and Kirklees to Brent. Bobby's stated aim is to build up an "army" of 500 volunteers across the country ready to alert him to mosque applications.

Once alerted, he arranges for volunteers to leaflet the area and mobilise the community against any application. Bobby himself personally speaks at planning meetings on behalf of residents and is a well-known figure among local authorities. He threatens councillors and officers that if they allow a mosque application to go through, they could be held liable personally in law because of their approval of a religious doctrine which advocates violence.

Many of his appearances in council chambers are filmed and uploaded onto the counter-jihad MRCTV website. At one meeting in Sunderland – and to a large round of applause – he tells councillors that the Koran calls for unbelievers to be killed and enslaved, arguing that Islam is the "domineering tenet against which you should view this application."

While his website explicitly states that he has nothing to do with the English Defence League, it is clear from postings left on the site that he has immediate attraction to and a big following among the far right. Bobby is reported as saying that he's worked with the EDL in the past but that they are "too reactionary".

Vinci Lombard of *Counter-Jihad* and Robert Spencer of *JihadWatch* are both admirers, while there are

links promoting Law and Freedom Foundation on the websites of the EDL, British Freedom, the BNP and the Gates of Vienna, with a post on the last one praising his "excellent services".

Bobby's motivation for carrying out such work is clearly not monetary, so what is it? It is clear from his own ramblings that he has a visceral dislike of Islam. In speeches and interviews he talks about a "sense of duty" in stopping mosques.

Interestingly, he is quoted as saying he has nothing against Muslims as individuals but is simply against the doctrine of Islam. But he is not against gratuitous sniping against members of the Muslim community he comes across in his campaigns, with inflammatory references to Muslim men wearing "sawn-off trousers and maternity dresses". If that's not personal, it's hard to see what is.

But it's Bobby's views on grooming and what he calls Islam's endorsement of sexual slavery of underage girls which are really worrying. In an interview conducted in June this year, Bobby is quoted as saying that Islam encourages Muslim men to take non-Muslim women as sex slaves, using the prophet Mohammed as an example.

Making a clear reference to recent sex grooming cases, Bobby says: "If you put those two things together you get the crimes that we are seeing now."

Bobby goes on to talk about mosques playing a central role in propagating Islamic doctrine, which leads to rape and "pimping" of young girls. Disturbingly, he then proceeds to talk about people being able to use "reasonable force" to stop a crime and argues that "lethal force is reasonable force when it comes to this dangerous, explosive and unspeakable crime".

All a long way from opposing planning applications on the grounds of parking.

But Bobby's deep antagonism towards Islam comes across most strongly in a late-night interview he gave earlier this year to Radio Jihad, an American radio show whose names leaves little to the imagination. He is lauded by the talk show host as a "true patriot" whom counter-jihadists have a lot to learn from,

During the lengthy and wide-ranging interview, Bobby says that it is time for people to stop talking and to take "action" against Islam. His scaremongering tactics include references to the Muslim population "doubling roughly every decade" in the UK and the fact that "you get sharia areas and Islamic areas" expanding across Britain and western Europe. Americans, he says, need to "watch and learn".

Questioned as to why he doesn't oppose churches and synagogues in the same way he does mosques, Bobby says there is no need to because "Islamic doctrine is the problem – it's extremely supremacist".

Bobby also makes warnings during the interview about what he calls "sexually-active Muslim men" and the problem of grooming, stating: "You're not looking at a small minority of men doing it, you could be looking at the majority of men doing it ... it's really shocking how widespread it is".

He then goes on to push the myth that Muslim men are "more likely than English men to do it".

Bobby opposes mosques because he claims they are not simply places of prayer and reflection but are used as a base to spread the doctrine of Islam. By some flawed logic, he claims that all mosques are based on Mohammed's Medina mosque and that because it was used to plan and direct "jihad operations", by extension all mosques are involved in the same sort of activities. This also includes "declaring sharia law, the

superiority of Muslims and the inferiority of non-Muslims, teaching the supremacy of men over women, and pronouncing death sentences on those who had opposed Mohammed or spoken unfavourably about him".

Writing as the 'Lawman' on his website and commenting on a mosque application in Dudley which was refused planning permission, Bobby states: "It is hard to see how a local authority has the power to grant planning permission for a mosque, since the purpose of a mosque is to promote a doctrine that incites killing, enslavement and war. You don't need to be a skilled lawyer to understand this point – you have to be a skilled lawyer to find a way around it."

He warns people that should they allow a mosque to be built in their neighbourhood, they "won't be able to park or walk your dog during those times, or at any time if the mosque gets really popular".

He adds: "If you like Islam, noise and congestion, then you may be okay."

The attraction he holds for the crazier elements of the far right are all too obvious. On its website, in article about EDL activist Peter Day distributing mosquebuster leaflets in

Purley, the Jewish Defence League, whose leaders have openly defended Anders Breivik, state: "We support Mr Gavin Bobby. He is a great lawyer and we wish him very good luck with this wonderful project. Someone has to act on our behalf after all!"

The EDL hold him in similar reverence. Talking about the defeat of a mosque application in Dudley last year, they say: "Gavin Bobby and his organisation, 'Mosquebusters' dealt a heavy blow to the usual government-Islamic

alliance by stopping yet another 'Mega-mosque' from being constructed in England.

One which promised to dominate the skyline and ensure dhimmi status for the non-Muslims of the area." The EDL proudly claim it was their demos against the mosque which brought the application to the attention of Bobby and "which in turn has brought about a collaboration between the EDL and mosquebusters to stem the tide of mosque building in Britain".

Bobby may not wish to associate himself with the EDL but it seems they want to be associated with him.

Support for his work also comes from the *Counter-Jihad Report*, with articles on its website praising his work, as well as a clip of a speech he gave to the ICLA in Brussels in July this year alongside the likes of hardline US anti-Islamist Frank Gaffney and Stephen Lennan of EDL, where the so-called 'Brussels Declaration' against the imposition of sharia law was made.

Anyone under the illusion that Bobby is not fuelled by an intense antagonism to Islam should watch any of his YouTube interviews in which, explaining the work of the Law and Freedom Foundation, he says his stated aim is to "stop the tide of Islamicisation" and that mosques are nothing more than a "bridgehead for the advancement of Islam".

He claims that the doctrine of Islam is against the UK's hate speech laws and that the Koran's "violent injunctions" to Muslims to kill non-believers and take under-age girls as sex slaves are contrary to UK and EU law. He claims the Koran is racist and xenophobic and that having a mosque in your neighbourhood is similar to the effect of a football stadium in terms of noise and nuisance.

He also claims that if mosques are approved, the non-Muslim population will be "squeezed out" and made to feel unwelcome in its own community and, further, that a mosque will lead to harassment of local residents, leading to anti-social behaviour and crime. And he says all this is happening in the poorest neighbourhoods of the UK who are unable to defend themselves.

Gavin Bobby, the smooth-talking, self-styled 'mosquebuster' is fast gaining a reputation as the man to turn to for anyone opposing a planning application for a mosque in their neighbourhood.



The state of hate in 2012

by the HOPE not hate research team

2012 WAS A DISASTROUS year for the British far-right. Electorally the British National Party (BNP) is at its lowest level since 2001 and on the streets the English Defence League (EDL) is a mere shadow of its former self.

In fact, there was no discernible rise in any section of the far right during the past year.

The BNP is still losing members and most of those remaining are disillusioned and demoralised. In May's local elections the party lost all of the seats it was defending, leaving it with just two borough councillors and one county councillor – a poor show considering the BNP had 67 councillors back in 2009.

The party also saw its vote slashed in the election for the London Assembly: its 2.1% share of the vote was less than it polled in 2000.

The BNP at least has managed to overcome the financial crisis that threatened the very future of the party in 2011 and Griffin's position within the party is the strongest it has been for several years, though this is because of the expulsions and resignations of virtually all those opposed to his leadership.

Fellow MEP Andrew Brons walked out of the party in October, claiming to have been the victim of constructive dismissal. His resignation was supposed to have signalled the launch of a rival far right party made up of former BNP officials and organisers. Called True Brits, this new party was still-born, as its leader, Peter Phillips, withdrew his support and the party name after some supporters reacted with fury to news of his homosexuality. The other co-conspirators scrambled for a new name and finally settled on the British Democratic Party. It has held a few regional meetings but already there are widespread rumblings that it has had little effective impact.

Counter-jihad

Griffin has also exploited the growing divisions that have beset the EDL. He began associating with the more hardline Infidels and then went after Stephen Lennon more directly. He produced a 46-page document and video highlighting the alleged Zionist

influences within the 'counter-Jihad' movement and, by implication, positioned himself to Lennon's right.

Lennon, meanwhile, has had a dreadful year. There has been growing discontent within the EDL, demonstrations have become smaller, the number of functioning EDL divisions have reduced drastically and hardly a week goes by without one regional organiser falling out with another. Lennon ends the year in prison awaiting court hearings for entering the United States on a false passport and several counts of fraud.

If, as expected, Lennon is convicted or even worse extradited to the US then there would appear to be little future for the EDL as we currently know it.

The EDL has splintered in numerous more militant factions but even these end the year in a weakened state. Arrests, petty jealousies and ineffective leadership have all sapped the energy from groups like the Infidels and Combined Ex-Forces.

Last year saw former EDL and Infidel activists become more involved in community campaigns and this is likely to increase in 2013.

On the more extreme front, neo-nazi groups like the Racial Volunteer Force and the British Movement continue to discuss unity but are increasingly peripheral players on the scene.

The English Democrats (ED) had hoped 2012 would be the year they replaced the BNP as the home for the right-wing nationalist vote. It stood a record number of candidates in May's local elections, 43% of whom had recently been in the BNP and its optimism grew after the party saved all five deposits in the Police and Crime Commissioner elections, including a second place in South Yorkshire. With a parliamentary by-election in Rotherham a few weeks later the ED thought that they could repeat their electoral success and in the process further marginalise the BNP.

However, they did not count for the rise of UKIP who were boosted in the election by their clever manipulation of a decision by Rotherham council to remove three foster children from two UKIP members.

Safety valve

The controversy propelled UKIP into the national media and enabled them to position themselves as the anti-establishment party. The Conservatives are most frightened, with the party's vice-chairman even penning a briefing suggesting that they offer UKIP a deal in return for the anti-EU party not standing against them at the next general election.

The BNP predictably dismissed UKIP as an establishment safety valve but they are nervous. With UKIP likely to win or come second in the next European elections, and all the media coverage that would go with it, the BNP will struggle to retain its existing voters let alone attract new ones. Expect increased attacks on UKIP by the BNP.

2013 is likely to be another tough year for the far right but we should not discount their threat just yet.

The alienation with mainstream parties and crisis of white English identity remains and as the austerity bites so conflict over resources between communities could increase.

Opportunities for them will also emerge.

Over the next 12 months there will be at least nine grooming trials involving Asian men and with thousands of troops being made unemployed, many from the northern towns and cities where the EDL and BNP have been active, there will be the potential for both recruits and conflict.

And with the electoral road seemingly halted, the BNP is likely to increase its street actions and adopt a more confrontational approach. They will seek to attract thousands who have been politicised by the EDL and a new generation of younger supporters who are both alienated with society and dislike Asians and other immigrants.

More worryingly, while most young men who have been radicalised by the EDL slip back into Civvy Street a few might look to more violent solutions to resolve their political goals. That, as the Home Secretary outlined to the Home Affairs Select Committee last month, is increasingly concentrating the minds of authorities.

British National Party (BNP)



Political philosophy:

Racial nationalist

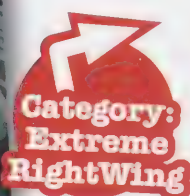
Leader: Nick Griffin MEP

Key officials: Clive Jefferson, Adam Walker, Alwyn Deacon

Activity of group: Elections, street stalls, small demonstrations, semi-regular meetings.

Key geographical areas of strength:

Salford, Scotland, South Tyneside, London, Maldon, Shropshire



Assessment of 2012:

The BNP continues to be in electoral freefall, with the party now just having two borough councillors and one county councillor left. However, the party is no longer in huge debt and it has so far been able to fight off challenges from the EDL and former opponents of Nick Griffin, who have now coalesced around the British Democratic Party.

Prospects for 2013:

The BNP begins 2013 in a better position than could have been predicted, mainly because their far right opponents have been so ineffective. While Nick Griffin will increasingly focus on keeping his lucrative European seat, the BNP will try to attract former EDL supporters through more aggressive anti-Islam activities such as vigilantism and confrontational protests. The 2013 elections could see the BNP lose two of its remaining three councillors.

National Front (NF)



Political philosophy: Racial nationalist

Leader: Ian Edward

Key officials: Chris Jackson, Richard Edmonds, Tess Culnane, Kevin Bryan

Activity of group: Small demonstrations and marches, but with an ageing activist base there are increasing attempts to organise and politically educate what remains of the party in Holocaust denial and scientific racism.

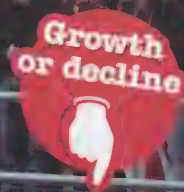
Key geographical areas of strength: Thurrock, Oldham, Liverpool, Hull, Sandwell and Dudley, Aberdeen, London

Assessment of 2012:

Managed to fund and stand 35 candidates around the country in May and a candidate (Edmonds) in the Croydon North by-election in November – though none did well. The loss of the lively and active North East region, ostensibly over the issue of electoral respectability, hurt the party after a period of minor growth.

Prospects for 2013:

Will continue to struggle to be a serious force on the British far right though it does have a loyal, albeit, small following. Its future will depend on impact of the newly-formed British Democratic Party.



Democratic Nationalists Party (DNP)



Leader: James 'Jim' Lewthwaite (pictured)

Key officials: Neil Craig, Ivan Winters and Liam Haines

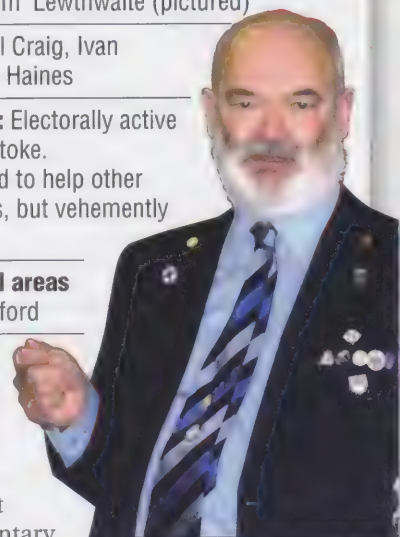
Activity of group: Electorally active in Bradford and Stoke.

It is also prepared to help other Nationalist parties, but vehemently anti-BNP.

Key geographical areas of strength: Bradford

Assessment of 2012:

Totally ineffective. Managed 1.1% in Bradford West

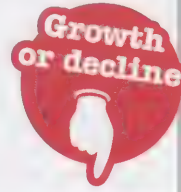


Parliamentary by-election in March, then followed this up with a stunning two (2) votes in the Springfield and Trent Valley by-election in Stoke, in July.

Prospects for 2013:

As of yet, it is not clear whether Lewthwaite is prepared to throw his weight behind the British Democratic Party (BDP) though one would imagine that could be likely.

The group's future will largely be determined by the fate of the BDP.



Britain First (BF)



Political philosophy: Anti-Islam, Christian evangelical and anti-immigration.

Leaders: Jim Dowson and Paul Golding

Key officials: Andy McBride, Gary Raikes, Kevin Edwards

Activity of group: Largely viral, though BF has begun courting disaffected EDL activists and antagonising both the BNP and the EDL's political partners, the British Freedom Party. Much of the BF's early activity has been the use of Dowson's mailing centre in Belfast to send mailshots to BNP donors and the sending of crippling legal letters to opponents.

Key geographical areas of strength: None

Assessment of 2012:

BF dumped its political front the National People's Party and registered itself with the electoral commission. Dowson linked up with the English Democrats to offer his fundraising services while Golding held a poorly-attended anti-Islam demonstration in London and another one in Southend. Late in the year, Dowson launched a series of defamation law suits against the British Freedom Party.

Prospects for 2013:

Dowson will go wherever there is money to be made. The BF is unlikely to make much of an impact in society at large but the group will become an ever-increasing irritant to rival far right groups.

Growth or decline: Decline

Britain Freedom Party (BFP)

Political philosophy: Anti-Islam and anti-immigration.

Leader: Kevin Carroll (pictured)

Key officials: George Whale, Kevin Carroll

Activity of group: Despite promising much the BFP does very little outside standing in the occasional election and holding very irregular meetings.

Key geographical areas of strength: London

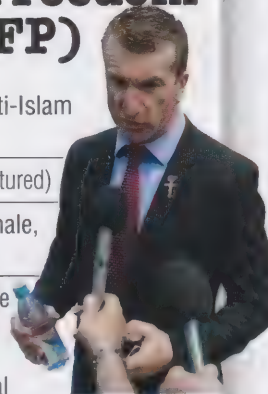
Assessment of 2012:

BFP stood six candidates in the 2012 local elections but they only polled 308 votes between them. The party did a lot better in the Police and Crime Commissioner elections in Bedfordshire where Kevin Carroll, who is joint leader of the EDL, polled 10.3% of the vote. However, this significant vote was overshadowed by its failure to craft any sort of identity and its reluctance to take on the BNP. This latter reason resulted in Stephen Lennon resigning from the party. In December 2012 it failed to re-register as a political party.

Prospects for 2013:

The BFP claims that it is just 'resting' but its future is bleak as the current leadership appear to have no appetite for party politics.

Growth or decline: Decline



Northern Patriotic Front (NPF)

Leader: Robert Batten

Key officials: Simon Biggs, Kevin Watmough

Activity of group: Street demonstrations against (proposed) Mosques, anti-grooming pickets and organising confrontations and pickets against the left.

Key geographical areas of strength: North East

Assessment of 2012:

Formed in June 2012 after months of internal squabbles about the National Front's continued stagnation and refusal to engage with the EDL and its satellites. The NPF has gained from the disintegrating EDL membership and shared platforms and activities with both the NWI and the CxF in the North East.

Prospects for 2013:

Growing opportunities for militancy and confrontation, 2013 will be a busy year for NPF, spreading its wings into Yorkshire and the North West and confrontation with the NF.

Growth or decline: Growth, but its future is unstable.



British Democratic Party (BDP)

Leader: Kevin Scott

Key officials: Andrew Brons MEP, Andrew Moffat, Peter Rushton, Ken Booth

Activity of group: Has held regional meetings in the North West, Yorkshire and the North West.

Key geographical areas of strength: North East, London

Assessment of 2012:

Eighteen months in the planning, the BDP finally emerged in Autumn 2012 as the far right alternative to the BNP. Launched as True Brit in November, it was re-launched a few days later after a major falling out between the original founding members. While boasting a long list of former BNP organisers and activists as supporters it is unclear whether it will really be able to replace the BNP.

The worst kept secret of 2012 was that Brons was going to give his blessing to the formation of a new party packed with former BNP officials. By the time it was launched and then re-launched,

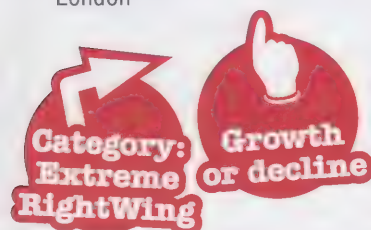
it became apparent that the new party had very little structure or apparatus, let alone impetus. Is the home to all those who never really got their hands dirty in the BNP.

Prospects for 2013:

Given its lacklustre and chaotic launch, the future does not appear to be too great. Their prospects could depend on how much effort Brons will put into the new group, both financially and politically, but their long-term prospects look limited as too many old school national socialists and Holocaust deniers appear to be involved.



Kevin Scott looks to the future

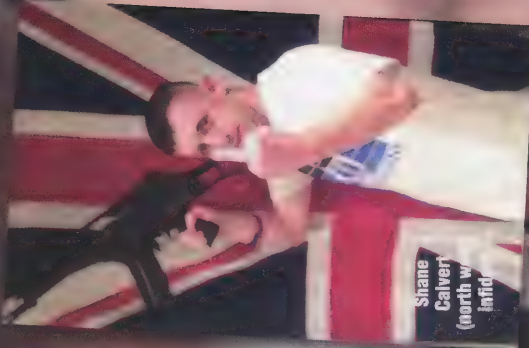


STATE OF HATE 2012 MAP

State of Hate research
by Matthew Collins and
Simon Cressy

KEY

-  British National Party (BNP)
-  Racial Volunteer Force
-  New Right
-  British Movement
-  Blood and Honour
-  English Defence League
-  Scottish Defence League
-  Infidels
-  March for England
-  Combined Ex-Forces
-  IDNA
-  Casuals United
-  National Culturists
-  National Front
-  English Volunteer Force





An online version of the State of Hate, including English nationalist and far right Conservative groups, can be found at www.hopenothate.org.uk

- English Volunteer Force
- Britain First
- British Freedom Party
- British Democratic Party
- Democratic Nationalist Party
- Northern Patriotic Front

(left) Paul Weston and (right) Kevin Carroll

Blood and Honour (B&H)

Leader None

Key officials: Adrian Brooks, Julie Ann McGuffog

Activity of group: The main umbrella group for the UK White Power music scene. Holds regular music concerts and still produces a regular glossy magazine under the same name.

Key geographical areas of strength: London, East Midlands, Yorkshire and Wales

Assessment of 2012:

Held half a dozen gigs around the country, attracting crowds of up to 300 for ordinary gigs and up to 500 for the annual ISD memorial gig and the 'Stinko' memorial gig. However, it has no influence on the British far right due to changing fashions and also internal feuds and jealousies within the B&H leadership. Bands currently performing are Aryan, Blackout, Legion of St George, Whitelaw, Hearts of Oak, March or Die, Brutal Attack, Gentleman Thugs, Celtic Warrior and Section 88.

Prospects for 2013:

They will continue doing what they have been doing for a number of years, lots of concerts with no street activities.



British Movement (BM)

Leader Steve Frost

Key officials: Steve Frost, Benny Bullman

Activity of group: A mere shadow of the organisation it once was in the early 1980s. Holds the occasional meeting and has attended a couple of pan-nationalist meetings, including one in Hull also attended by Andrew Brons. They still publish the magazine Broadsword.

Key geographical areas of strength: Yorkshire, South East London, East Midlands and North West

Assessment of 2012:

Although a British Movement still exists, it has a tiny, largely inactive, membership. They have a recently launched youth wing called 'Young Wolf'.

Prospects for 2013:

Unlikely anything dramatic will change within the ranks of the BM.

Growth or decline: No change



British People's Party (BPP)

Political philosophy: National Socialist

Leader: Kevin Watmough (pictured)

Key officials: None

Activity of group: None

Key geographical areas of strength:

They boast units in Ulster, Warrington the South West and West Yorkshire but none appear to be exist.

Assessment of 2012:

The BPP has collapsed and only exists on the internet. Watmough fell out with his last activist David Jones in the summer, attaching himself to the NF, NPF, CxF and sections of the Infidels instead.

Prospects for 2013:

None. Watmough's new links will see the BPP disappear altogether.

Growth or decline: Decline



Racial Volunteer Force (RVF)

Leader: Mark Atkinson (pictured below, right)

Key officials: Luke Phippen

Activity of group: Small RVF group attended the NF's Remembrance Sunday parade. Organised gigs and European Unity meeting.

Key geographical areas of strength: Wales, South East.

Assessment of 2012:

Mostly stagnant, the RVF has almost become an insignificance. Held gig in Oldham which brought together Infidels and CxF.

Prospects for 2013:

The RVF appears to have little reason to exist as it really does not do anything but as they attract some of the most hardline Nazis around there is always the slim possibility that its followers might get involved in serious trouble.

Growth or decline: Decline





English Defence League (EDL)

Leaders Stephen: Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) and Kevin Carroll

Key officials: Anthony Bamford, Alan Spence, Tim Ablitt, Steve Eddowes

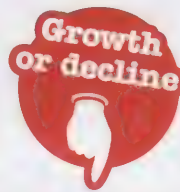
Activity of group: Regular demonstrations around the UK
Key geographical areas of strength: North East, London, East Anglia, West Midlands

Assessment of 2012:

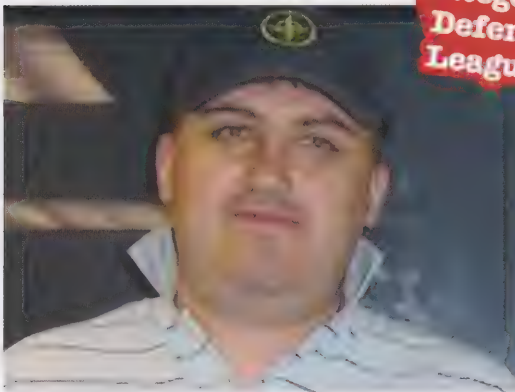
Where once the EDL could draw thousands to attend one of their demonstrations, they would be lucky to achieve a few hundred today. Riven with internal squabbling, the EDL is crumbling with increasing speed, not helped by the current incarceration of their leader Stephen Lennon. The organisation is splintering into small groups and many supporters are dropping out altogether.

Prospects for 2013:

May depend on Stephen Lennon's forthcoming court cases. If he is imprisoned for some time then the EDL will continue its freefall and it will be lucky to survive a further year in its current form. If Lennon is released soon then he can still turn round its fortunes though he will have lost many of its former activists.



Casuals United



Leader Jeff Marsh (pictured above)

Key officials: Jeff Marsh

Activity of group: Mostly online with occasional street activity. Previously would link up with the EDL at their demos. Casuals United recently announced a link up with the National Front at a demonstration held in Rotherham.

Key geographical areas of strength: South Wales

Assessment of 2012:

Marsh and his Casuals have fallen out with their EDL allies due to tactics and what Marsh sees as a lack of discipline and security within the EDL, Marsh frequently uses his Facebook group to attack the EDL leadership.

Prospects for 2013:

The prospects of Casuals United may lie with what links it has to other larger groups, in particular the EDL. It is unlikely they could carry on without them.

Growth or decline: Decline



Combined Ex-Forces (CxF)

Leader: James Devine

Key officials: Paul James, Kevin Turner, Darren Lumb

Activity of group: Holds street activities, flash protests and demonstrations. The CxF comes across as more militant and hardline than the EDL though it has not translated this online militancy into street activity.

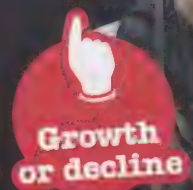
Key geographical areas of strength: Merseyside, Lancashire and Yorkshire

Assessment of 2012:

The CxF is now operated almost exclusively in the Merseyside area with a few activists involved from other areas. Its activity seems to have dropped off recently and there does not seem to be the same level of co-operation with the NF and NWI there once was.

Prospects for 2013:

One of the busier EDL splinters, its future may lie in what relationships it has with the larger NF, NPF and Infidels.



English Volunteer Force (EVF)

Category: Defence Leagues

Political philosophy: Islamophobic and racist

Leader: Chris Renton (pictured)

Key officials: Jason Lock, Mark Weston, Roy Evans

Activity of group: Has expressed intentions to hold 'nationwide flash demonstrations', though as yet these have yet to materialise, having been cancelled or re-scheduled for later dates. Much of the group's activity seems to be promoting itself to the national and antifascist media for publicity and the occasional social event, which appear to be sparsely attended.

Key geographical areas of strength: Weston-Super-Mare, Surrey and Essex

Assessment of 2012:

First appeared in Bridgend, Wales, on 3rd October 2012 at a Homecoming parade by the Royal Welsh Battalion but despite much self-publicity it has failed to emerge as a serious group. It is already riven with splits.

Prospects for 2013:

There is talk of a 'Demonstration against the Islamification of Great Britain' in Birmingham in January, though it is unlikely the EVF have the capabilities to lead or organise any such an event. The prime focus of the group is to court headlines without actually leading, as well as promoting their own merchandise. It is likely to merge with another EDL satellite group.

Growth or decline: Growth



Category: Defence Leagues

Infidels

Leaders:

John 'Snowy' Shaw (NWI) (pictured right), Peter s and Paul Duffy (NEI)

Key officials:

Shane Calvert (NWI) Warren Faulkner (NEI)

Activity of group: Made up of two groups, the North West Infidels (NWI), which holds small scale flash demos, and the North East Infidels (NEI), which organise semi-regular protests against local mosques.

Key geographical areas of strength: (NWI) East Lancs and Merseyside; (NEI) Tyne & Wear

Assessment of 2012:

Used to be closely aligned to one another following their violent split from the EDL. They have drifted apart recently with key NEI activists refusing to be associated with some of their North West cousins due to their closeness to neo nazis. The NEI appear to be on friendly terms again with their EDL counterparts, whilst the NWI seems to be shrinking.

Prospects for 2013:

Impossible this group could ever return to the EDL under Lennon's leadership. Because of the shortcomings of its own leaders the Infidels are unlikely to be anything more than a dangerous grouping, though its militant posturing could attract more violent followers who could carry out more extreme acts of violence.

Growth or decline: (NWI) Decline (NEI) Growth



Scottish Defence League

Leader: None

Key officials: Sean Graham, William Smith

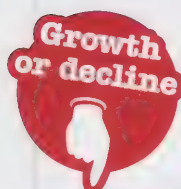
Activity of group: Hold semi-regular small demonstrations around Scotland

Assessment of 2012:

Very much independent of the EDL they almost exclusively concentrate on small demonstrations in Scotland, with occasional trips to England to join NF and NPF activities.

Prospects for 2013:

The SDL will probably continue even if the EDL do not in 2013. Their main obstacle may be their relationships with the various English groups, who increasingly practise or use anti-Scottish rhetoric.



Key geographical areas of strength: Scotland



Category: Defence Leagues

March For England (MFE)

Leader: Dave Smeeton

Key officials: None

Activity of group: Occasional demonstrations

Key geographical areas of strength: London and South East

Assessment of 2012:

Apart from two demonstrations in Brighton, the MFE has gone very quiet in 2012. This might be due to demise of EDL but also due to the falling out amongst the two groups.

Prospects for 2013:

Will continue to hold the occasional demonstration in Brighton, such as the St Georges Day march planned for April, but is unlikely to do much else.

Growth or decline: Decline



Category:
Defence
Leagues

Northern Casuals

Leader: Steve Latimer

Key officials: Aaron Snow, Lee Pullen

Activity of group: Mostly online

Key geographical areas of strength: North West, North East

Assessment of 2012:

Little more than a drinking club, the Northern Casuals formed after two factions of the NWI fell out. Linked to the NEI, the Northern Casuals rejected some of the NWI links to Nazis. Latimer was accused of being a left-wing plant.

Prospects for 2013:

Apart from visiting pubs and parties and attacking other factions on Facebook, the Northern Casuals seem to do very little.

Growth or decline: Growth

Category:
Extreme Right wing
think tanks

The New Right

Leader: Troy Southgate (pictured)

Key officials: None

Activity of group: Regular meetings and publications. Attempts to bring together the intellectual wing of Britain's far right, though many of its participants are no longer key figures.

Key geographical areas of strength: London and South East

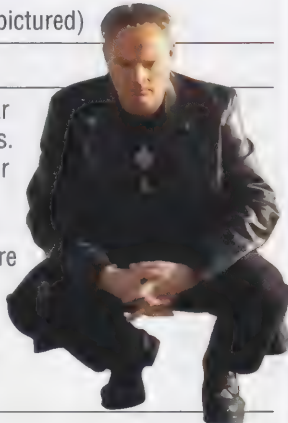
Assessment of 2012:

Regular meetings in the London area but virtually no impact on the BNP or EDL. Death of Jonathon Bowden set back the group. Amongst the international speakers over the past year have been Oma Filmersson (Sweden) Tage Talquest (Sweden) Andriy Voloshyn (Ukraine) Norman Lowell (Malta).

Prospects for 2013:

They will probably continue having their small and regular meetings, their only threat being the rival IONA forum.

Growth or decline: No change



Iona Forum

Leader: Jeremy Bedford-Turner (pictured)

Key officials: Jeremy Bedford-Turner

Activity of group: Regular meetings

Key geographical areas of strength: London

Assessment of 2012:

A splinter of The New Right (TNR), it seems to attract the same people to their meetings. It appears to coexist quite peacefully now with TNR.

Prospects for 2013:

Will continue as a discussion group but unlikely to have an influence on the wider movement

Growth or decline: Growth



National Culturists

Political philosophy: Culturism

Leader: Jack Buckby

Key officials: Craig Cooke, Philip Jones

Activity of group:

Leafleting among students at Liverpool University. Linked up with the BNP

Key geographical areas of strength: Liverpool

Assessment of 2012:

Tiny outfit, no more than a few students based at Liverpool University. Currently in favour with Nick Griffin who allowed Buckby to speak at the BNP-organised Alliance of European National Movements Conference held in the summer.

Prospects for 2013:

Unlikely that they will grow outside of the University

Growth or decline: stagnant

For more on Britain's far-right see
www.hopenothate.org.uk

The State of HOPE 2012

2012 has been a year to celebrate modern, diverse Britain. In the latest in a series of interviews with British Olympians and Paralympians, **Dave Porter** interviews **Abdi Jama** and **Dame Sarah Storey**

Abdi Jama

ABDI JAMA HAS A VISION for the future of using his sporting fame to help the most vulnerable people in Somalia.

The captain of the UK wheelchair basketball team came to the UK at the age of six, but still feels a strong affinity with the place he was born and where his family are from.

As a paralympian, Abdi, 30, knows he is privileged to have been chosen to compete in London 2012 and enjoy the sporting lifestyle that goes with it. In Somalia it is a very different story for athletes and the disabled.

He said: "I've got a lot of family back home in Somalia and in the future I want to help disabled people who don't have the facilities that

we do. Here we are very lucky, we have the top-of-the-range wheelchairs, but they don't have those kinds of facilities.

"In Somalia people are literally walking along using their arms, and if they do have wheelchairs the road surfaces are not right for training on. I do feel sorry for these people and if I can help I will."

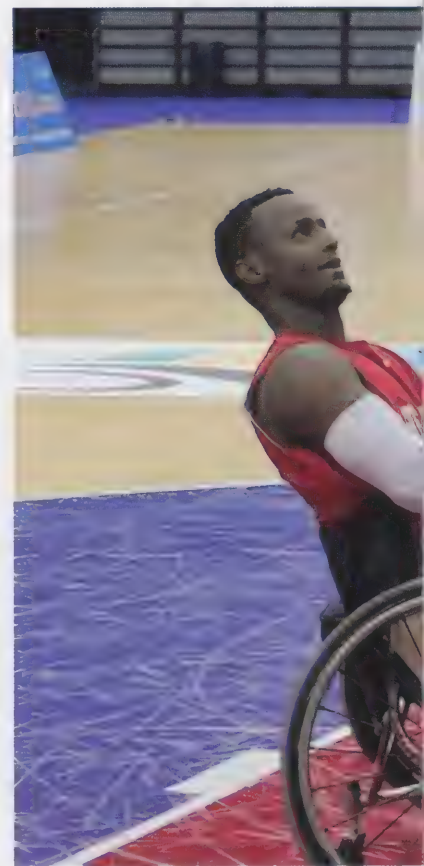
Abdi, who still lives in Toxteth in Liverpool where his family moved to as refugees, currently plays for Oldham Owls. A freak accident at the age of 14 when he fell out of a window at home changed the course of Abdi's life forever, and ultimately started the path which would see him being picked for the GB team at the age of 19.

Nicknamed 'Prince of Somalia' by his team mates, Abdi is classed as one of the world's best 'one point'

players – one point being the most severe form of disability an athlete has. He readily admits that being brought up in a tough neighbourhood in Liverpool had its challenges for a young boy with a Somali background, embodied in racism and discrimination.

"As a kid when I was growing up I used to get into fights, but now it's a lot better because people are changing and everybody is getting along with everybody else. And hopefully with me being a role model as well I can be part of that," he said.

Abdi describes himself as a British Somali who is also very proud of being a Muslim. He combines a strict training programme with prayer five times-a-day and cannot ever see himself leaving the strong community bonds he enjoys in Toxteth.



"For me being a Muslim is one of the main factors in being a sportsman. I try and make sure we get rid of a lot of the negatives and the stereotypes about Muslim people," he said.

Now married, Abdi very much sees his himself and

Sarah Storey the Olympic queen

SARAH STOREY cannot only boast being the most-decorated Paralympian in the UK, but also one of the few who has won world and Paralympic gold medals across two different sports, swimming and cycling.

At this year's 2012 Games, Sarah – who was born without a left hand – topped the GB medal table with four gold medals and currently stands as the most highly-ranked Paralympic athlete in the world.

She has travelled the world as an ambassador for disabled sport, was awarded the MBE in the 1998 New Years Honours List for her services to swimming for

people with disabilities and then received an OBE in the 2009 New Years Honours List for her services to disabled sport. Now, following further gold medals in the London Olympics Sarah has been made a Dame.

HOPE not hate caught up with her in-between busy training schedules for a post-Games chat.

What role do you think sport has in bringing people and communities together?
Sport has always been known to be a catalyst for bridging gaps in communities or political situations and so I know that sport is very powerful in this role.

What do you think the legacy of the Paralympics will be?

I think the legacy will become more apparent in the next couple of years. I hope we will see a bigger upsurge in participation in sport globally.

At the moment the Games has had a major impact in the UK.

Does the public now see Paralympians and the disabled in society generally differently because of 2012?

I hope so but only time will tell, early indications suggest a very positive impact.





other disabled athletes as role models in helping to change attitudes. London 2012 was the turning point he thinks.

He says: "You've only got to look at the Sports Personality of the Year awards – there were three paralympians in the final 12. That just shows

how far the perspective of the general public has come.

"And if you look at the Games themselves and the number of fans coming to watch paralympians. People don't just see the wheelchair, they see the athlete in the chair. It was phenomenal." ●

Sarah Storey the most-decorated Paralympian in the UK
Photo: The Department for Culture Media and Sport

You have stated that don't think of yourself as disabled, simply as a sportswoman – would you have liked to compete alongside able-bodied athletes in the Games and do you think we will see an increasing crossover in the future?

It is not that I don't like to think of myself as not disabled, it is a simple fact that I am not disabled! One of the things the Paralympics did was publicise the breadth of impairment in Paralympic sports. Some athletes have disabilities and are supported by the

state; others have minor impairments that prevent them from competing on a dead level playing field with other athletes without impairment.

I am in the latter group. I compete against non-impaired athletes every week, I always have done. It's not a new concept to cross over. As for competing against able-bodied athletes at the Games, well this clearly can't happen at the Paralympics, but if I am good enough I will be selected for the Olympics.

Every athlete in the Paralympics is an athlete first – their impairment or disability is secondary. ●

Comment

A CHANGING COUNTRY a cause for celebration whilst understanding the concern

by Nick Lowles

ENGLAND AND WALES are changing and they are changing fast. As last month's release of information from the 2011 census showed, the population of England and Wales is rising; there are three million more foreign-born people living here than in 2001 and there has been a large jump in the number of people who do not identify with a religion.

Predictably those opposed to immigration are saying 'I told you so'. In fact, the numbers of new arrivals into England and Wales have even exceeded their own estimates.

We live in a changing world and there is little sign that this is going to change in the near future. It is also becoming almost impossible to predict trends. We live in a world where there is a greater movement of people than probably at any time in human history. Some are forced to flee persecution and wars but most are simply in search of a better life. This is simply a fact of the modern age.

It is also clear that we also quickly get used to immigrants. A new study out by British Future, 'The Melting Pot Generation', looks at how Britain became more relaxed about race examines how these changes might affect the way that we think about race and identity.

"Jessica Ennis was not just the face of the Olympics this summer; she could stake a fair claim to be "the face of the census" too," Sunder Katwala, the group's Director said.

The census shows that there are over one million people who describe themselves as 'mixed-race' and 12% of households are made up of people from different ethnic backgrounds.

I genuinely believe that Britain is the most diverse and racially integrated society in Europe and this is something to applaud and celebrate. This is not to downplay the racism that continues to exist or to ignore the prejudice and discrimination many immigrants feel, but I do believe Britain is a more tolerant and inclusive society than most others in Europe.

But I am always aware that not everyone buys into this and while we need to celebrate our diversity – and the positive influence immigrants bring to the country – we also need to reassure those people who view what is occurring with concern that they too have a social and economic future in this changing Britain. Our Fear and HOPE report, produced by us last year, concluded that there is a clear correlation between economic pessimism and negative attitudes towards immigration. The more pessimistic people are about their own economic situation and their prospects for the future the more hostile their attitudes are to new and old immigrants.

There is also a clear connection between this economic pessimism and a crisis of identity and belonging, which often manifests itself through a fear and opposition to immigration. That is why it is important to not just highlight the economic benefits of immigration but triumph the social and cultural impact too.

The census shows that our country is changing very fast but against a backdrop of economic pessimism there will be some people who view this change with concern. Rather than dismissing them as racists or disregarding their concerns, we need to work hard to break down divisions and show we can build a modern Britain where we can all have a place and, probably more importantly, one that offers them a better economic tomorrow than what they are experiencing now.

Grooming: the harsh truths

by Sara Khan

INGRAINED MISOGYNY within sections of the British Pakistani community cannot be defended, but we all have to take collective responsibility for child sex exploitation.

"Above all, we need to ask why so many males, both young and old, think it is acceptable to treat both girls and boys as objects to be used and abused. We need to consider why professionals still miss the signs of abuse, and also to consider the impact of pornography on children," wrote Sue Berelowitz on the release of the Office for the Children's Commission interim report on child sexual exploitation in gangs and groups.

The report was disturbing: around 16,500 children were deemed to be at high risk of child sex exploitation, yet much of the response to the report was on whether it underplayed the representation of Pakistani men in child sex exploitation (CSE).

As much as I agree with Berelowitz that Pakistani men abusing girls is one model among many, the statistics in the report, which do not include data from all police forces, suggest there is an overrepresentation of Pakistani men working in groups guilty of on-street grooming, as

opposed to acting alone or online which is predominately carried out by white men. Out of 77 recent convictions for on-street grooming by gangs, 67 have involved men of Pakistani origin.

Experts maintain that sexually-exploited children are not always identified and that under-reporting by victims remains a big problem. Many children feel they will not be believed and some do not even recognise they are being exploited. Black and minority ethnic women and girls are even less likely to report as they face an additional barrier of having to deal with a cultural enforced silence imposed by their communities and families.

Honour concept

It is frustrating that there still remains a great deal of denial over the concept of honour within some Asian communities. Some of the parents of the victims in the Rochdale case talked about how they felt let down by statutory agencies.

My experience with young Asian girls has shown that it is mothers in particular who prevent their daughters from reporting familial child sexual abuse to external agencies.

What is desperately needed are specialist strategies for combatting different models



of CSE whether online grooming by white men or on-street grooming by men of Pakistani origin, as well as developing policies which understand the constraint of cultural attitudes preventing victims from reporting.

As a society we do not feel comfortable in answering serious questions about prevailing attitudes towards women and girls. It is too easy to point the finger at a minority community, but as a British Pakistani I see the objectification of women in minority and majority communities.

After the Rochdale case in May, I wrote how at the heart of some British Pakistani communities, particularly those who came from rural, poor villages, patriarchy is the

norm; and women, whether white or Asian, are viewed as second-class citizens. White women are dehumanised by being perceived as sexual objects while Asian women denied agency, autonomy and basic rights. The common thread is that women are there to be used and abused.

Sexualised imagery

Over the past three decades there has been a dramatic increase in the use of sexualised imagery of women and children in advertising. Pornography is normalised and has become easily accessible by children through the use of smart phones and the internet.

A Home Office report in 2010 suggested that online pornography is increasingly

for us all



dominated by themes of aggression and control and that exposure to pornography is related to male sexual aggression against women, as well as a tendency to view them as objects. Young people not only have warped expectations of sex but are replicating what they have seen, including sexual violence. Is it really surprising therefore that teenage girls between 16 and 19 are now the group most at risk of domestic violence, closely followed by girls aged 20-24?

The Savile case highlighted how only 30 to 40 years ago, a misogynistic 'groupie culture' was part and parcel of life. I cannot help wonder how,

just as today we stand aghast at the cultural attitudes that prevailed then, we too in 30 years' time will stand aghast at why we did not tackle the normalisation of violent pornography and its impact on our children.

Changing cultural attitudes is no small feat but we need to have a robust yet sensitive debate on this issue where we all take collective responsibility for CSE. Ingrained misogyny within sections of the British Pakistani community cannot be defended, but it is imperative that policies are developed to tackle harmful cultural attitudes wherever they exist in society. ●

■ *Sara Khan is director of Inspire, a British Muslim women's human rights organisation*

Building community resilience to Grooming

by Nick Lowles

HOPE not hate is making the 'grooming' issue a central campaign priority in 2013. We understand that the cases where men of British-Pakistani origin are identified as the perpetrators have the potential to divide communities and whip up racism.

In November we launched an appeal to raise £2,500 to print 100,000 of our new 'The Truth about Grooming' leaflets. Such was the support that we ended up raising £4,878 from 453 people.

We now can print the 100,000 leaflets but also begin some scoping work for some more focused community outreach work in one or two areas where grooming is acting as a divisive local issue.

We are acutely aware that there will be at least nine 'grooming' trials involving British men of Pakistani origin in 2013, and each has the potential to be exploited and twisted by the far right.

HOPE not hate believes it is vital to address this issue head on and so we are seeking to develop a response to grooming at a local and national level. Nationally, we will seek to raise awareness and encourage a response from national organisations and public bodies. Locally, we will develop an intervention model for areas affected by grooming.

This intervention initiative will seek to get communities and agencies to take grooming more seriously and encourage people to speak out against it. It will seek to prevent a racist backlash where Muslim grooming gangs are involved by distributing material explaining the issue and debunking racist myths. It will aim to develop local dialogues within and between communities in the hope that break down barriers and work together to solve these issues.

Local Asian communities often feel besieged and see this as yet another attack on their community. This can lead to denial or an unwillingness to confront the issue head on. We need to work with them to overcome these fears so that they can speak out against these awful crimes and encourage reporting. We will explain that by doing this they will be proving that the majority of the Muslim community opposes these crimes and so it will help relieve this feeling of besiegement.



We will seek to do some specific work within the white communities which are being targeted by groups like the EDL and BNP

Likewise, we will seek to do some specific work within the white communities which are being targeted by groups like the EDL and BNP. We will seek to properly explain the grooming issue, dispel myths and demonstrate that there are people taking the issue seriously.

We are particularly keen to work with young people of all backgrounds and hopefully through our work empower a few to become leaders within their own communities and advocates to wider society. This will prove vital in ensuring sustainability to this work.

HOPE not hate cannot achieve all this alone and we are currently in discussions with a number of Muslim organisations and a children's charity to develop and deliver this project.

The Jihad of the clowns

From Tor Bach for Vepsen in Oslo

WHILE THE FEW Jihadists in Norway have lofty ambitions, their ability to fulfil them seems to fall short and their attempts to send a message to the public generate more uproar than understanding.

In 2010, a caricature drawing of the prophet Muhammad depicted as a pig mysteriously appeared on the Facebook wall of the Norwegian Police Security Service. Arfan Bhatti, a former criminal gang member, tipped off the newspaper *Dagbladet* which then not only interviewed Bhatti but also reprinted the drawing of the prophet.

Bhatti called for a demonstration and a meeting was held where plans to establish a Norwegian Freedom Party (Hizb ut Tahrir) were also launched. Three thousand angry Muslims showed up at the demonstration, where one of the speakers was Mohyeldeen Mohammad from Larvik, south of Oslo. In his speech, Mohammad threatened that Norway might experience another 9/11. The speech caused public outrage but a Norwegian Hizb ut Tahrir never saw daylight. Except for fuelling anti-Muslim sentiment, the anti-pig demonstration led to few results.

Then, in January 2012, a film was launched on the Internet with the message that several named members of the government deserved to burn in Hell, all illustrated with pictures from the funeral of fallen Norwegian soldiers in Afghanistan.

Demonstration boycott

The film, promoting a demonstration against Norway's participation in the war in Afghanistan, was made by Bastian Vasquez, a Norwegian-Chilean convert to Islam.

This time the Muslim community in Norway was better informed about the forces behind the demonstration, and all major mosques and the Islamic Counsel of Norway urged Muslims to stay away. The boycott worked, only 46 people bothering to show up – in addition to 300 journalists, 70 police officers and several hundred people who turned their backs on the extremists.

Unfazed by the abysmal turnout at the demonstration, some of the extremists decided to get guns and duly showed up at a hunting course held by the author of this article. To become a registered hunter and to be able to buy guns, one needs to pass a public exam after a compulsory hunting course.

During the course, the extremists talked loudly in Arabic about how they would hunt Jews as soon as they got guns and were overheard by other Arabic-speaking participants who reported it to the course instructors. A report was sent to Police Security, who appeared to be familiar with the four and their attempts to obtain guns legally were thus obstructed.

Later on, the group, now calling itself Ansar al Sunnat (Helpers of

the Faith), published the astonishing demand that they should be allowed to establish their own Islamic state in the neighbourhood of Grønland, the most multicultural part of Oslo's East End. The group's spokesperson, Arslan Maroof Hussein, using the name Ubaydullah Hussein, was publicly ridiculed and the campaign for the new sovereign state was short lived.

Press Tipped Off

Still undeterred, the group changed its name again, this time to the Prophet's Ummah, and, with Arfan Bhatti in Pakistan and Mohyeldeen Mohammad allegedly in Syria where he kept busy posting pictures of himself carrying an AK47 automatic gun on Facebook, Ubaydullah Hussain continued as the group's spokesperson.

At a demonstration outside the US embassy in Oslo in September the group managed to gather about 100 people to protest against

the anti-Muslim movie, *Innocence of Muslims*. During the demonstration, they shouted: "Obama, Obama, we all are Osama".

In October, came the news that a young Norwegian man belonging to the Prophet's Ummah had died in combat in Syria. The reception of the news among the Jihadists was almost delirious as they suddenly had a martyr to hold up as a role model for others. Their disappointment must have been all the greater when it later became known the young man was actually alive.

Meanwhile, Nina Johnsrud, a journalist on *Dagsavisen*, was tipped off about the four extremists trying to obtain guns and ran the story. Ubaydullah Hussein, who also threatened another journalist, threatened Johnsrud, a very brave investigative journalist who has had skirmishes with the Jihadists before.

In June 2006 someone most probably belonging to Jihadist circles fired four rounds at her house, and in September the same year someone fired multiple rounds at the Oslo synagogue with an automatic weapon. While Arfan Bhatti was convicted as a "mental accomplice" for the synagogue shooting two years later, the shooting at Johnsrud's home remains unsolved.

Threats to Jews

While the police were investigating the latest threats, Hussein went



Journalist Nina Johnsrud



(above) Arfan Bhatti
(right) Egzon Avdyli
and Bastian Vasques

onto Facebook to say he wanted to get an AK47 to give the Jewish community in Norway the protection it deserved. Quickly arrested for his pains, he had to spend the next four weeks in custody, charged also with possessing money that could not have been earned legally. The money charges were, however, dropped after it emerged that this money came from something as un-Islamic as Internet gambling.

The Prophet's Ummah next called a press conference to explain their views to the Norwegian public and staged a bizarre show, where no questions were answered and where spokesman Egzon Avdyli seemed more than averagely confused. According to Avdyli, the group only accepted the laws of God and the Norwegian constitution was nothing they needed to comment on. When asked about what they want to change in Norwegian society, he said: "Change,

change ... we want to change ... change ... We will answer that later."

Nina Johnsrud made the press conference even more embarrassing when she showed up, confronted Avdyli and asked him if she was safe or not. Muttering, he had to say that she was in no danger.

While the Prophet's Ummah were making fools of themselves, another Jihadist Mullah Krekar – *aka* Najmuddin Faraj Ahmad – was up in court, charged with grievous threats against Norwegian politicians, among them the head of the Conservative Party, Erna Solberg. Prominent in the audience was Anjem Choudary, the former British lawyer and prominent Jihadist, who runs the banned Sharia4UK organisation.

Militant outfit

According to Choudary, he was in Norway to form a Norwegian branch of his group, Sharia4Norway.

Promising a press conference after its founding, Choudary suddenly went silent. Choudary had reportedly scuttled back to the UK. Most likely, Mullah Krekar, who is running Ansar al Islam as his own militant outfit in Kurdistan, was not too keen to play second violin in Choudary's orchestra and bailed out of the project.

The Prophet's Ummah does, on the other hand, seem to want sign up with Choudary, who probably does not quite know what qualities his new playmates possess.

Working with the Prophet's Ummah these days is a high risk enterprise, not only because of their dismal lack of the most basic organisational skills and lack of elementary



knowledge about security, but also because this group is being routinely subjected to close scrutiny by several departments within the Norwegian police.

The only visible result of the Ummah's work so far, in fact, is that Nina Johnsrud has become a national heroine, awarded the Honour Prize of the Free Speech Foundation (not to be confused with similarly named anti-Muslim outfits in Denmark and Sweden) and thus 100,000 kroner – £11,000 – richer. ●

Murder gang scandal

NSU scandal hits German police and secret services, *Michael Klein* reports from Berlin

The case of the murderous National Socialist Underground has unfolded in the past year to expose the violent character of the German extreme right and the involvement of the state's security apparatus and to cause the biggest political scandal in many years.

On 4 November 2011, two men shot themselves in their mobile home after a bank raid in Thuringia. Some hours later, in Zwickau in neighbouring Saxony, a house divided into flats was set ablaze after an explosion ripped through it.

Within hours, it turned out that these two events belonged to what has become one of the biggest scandals in post-war German history: the existence of a nazi terror gang – Uwe Böhnhardt, Uwe Mundlos and Beate Zschäpe – that had, unhindered by the state, murdered nine immigrant shopkeepers and a policewoman, robbed 15 banks and set off two bombs.

After the existence of the gang was uncovered, video-clips and DVDs salvaged from the mobile home and the house in Zwickau emerged confirming that the trio who had called themselves the 'National Socialist Underground' had committed the wave of crimes.

The Zwickau address was used by Böhnhardt, Mundlos and Zschäpe, who had gone underground in early 1998 after police raided a garage in Jena having obtained evidence that the three – at that time belonging to a group called Thüringer Heimatschutz (TSH) – had been stockpiling explosives.

Nazi grouping

The TSH was one of the most important nazi groups in Thuringia in the 1990s. At its top was Tino Brandt, an informant of the federal state's secret service. Some 200,000 DM (£65,000) was given to him which, according to his statement, he then used to build up the nazi movement. No fewer than 35 preliminary investigations by public prosecutors into his actions were abandoned, presumably to protect his identity. While the TSH had about 170 activists at its peak, at times over the years as many as 40 members of the group were state informers.

Although surveillance and knowledge of the trio should have been excellent, incredibly the three remained undetected for nearly 14 years. In light of the facts that have been made public in the last 12 months, one has now to speak of either incompetence or a lack of interest on the part of the security apparatus in catching them.

While there was considerable tracking and extensive use of hi-tech secret service investigations and telephone tapping which obtained, for example, the address lists of German Blood&Honour (B&H) activists – who played a key role in supporting the gang's underground life by providing accommodation, health insurance cards and rented cars – the data either had not been collated to get a complete picture or was simply ignored.

A major problem appears to have been that the police and other authorities could not imagine that racism could be the leading motive for killing nine

immigrants. Even a nail bomb blast in a Cologne street where mainly immigrants lived – and which showed obvious parallels to the acts of British nazi nail bomber David Copeland – did not lead to serious investigation of the extreme right.

Immigrant killings

Instead, again and again, the victims and their families were treated as suspects, the police arguing that the murder must be somehow related to organised crime, Turkish-Kurdish rivalry or drug dealing.

Even the fact that there had been no evidence of these factors was used as an argument to intensify the inquisition of immigrants. And, when the police still failed to get any proof to stand up their suspicions, a clairvoyant was drafted in!

The notion that a serial killing of immigrants with the same weapon throughout could be perpetrated by racists was not properly considered. Any expertise from profilers – who did raise questions – was immediately downplayed by counter-expertise to such an extent that the police's media strategy involved denying any racist background to avoid tension and uproar in migrant communities ahead of the German-hosted 2006 World Cup finals.

All this despite the now-proven fact that an officer of the Hessian secret service was actually inside the internet cafe in Kassel when its Turkish owner was shot in the head there by the NSU terrorists in 2006. The agent, Andreas T.

rocks Germany

openly voiced right-wing views, and in his home village was nicknamed 'Little Adolf'. He has since been removed from the security service.

Police incompetence

In addition, the Bavarian internal secret service, when asked by the police's own investigative authority in 2006 to provide data on the north Bavarian nazi scene, to which the Thuringian nazis have had close contacts over the years, took six months to deliver information while the serial killings continued.

This chain of events has led to a long debate about the failure and incompetency of the police, the secret services and state prosecutors. There is an investigation committee of the national parliament and three more in Bavaria, Thuringia and Saxony. All have access to police and secret services material and evidence and the power to summon witnesses.

Hardly a week passes without further scandalous news coming to light: the wholesale shredding of documents related to the THS, B&H and NSU; the wide-spread activities of informants of several secret services inside the nazi scene; and the smugness of former heads of the secret services, like Federal Secret Service chief Heinz Fromm who quit his post, and still argue that there had been hardly any mistakes on their side despite a tsunami of murders.

Mistrust towards the German secret services among the population has never been so great in post-war

Germany. To keep the secret services running, reforms in structure, especially centralisation and recruitment of personnel, are now being energetically promoted. Also, some small but very active nazi groups have been outlawed.

At the same time, the recent decision of the federal states' prime ministers to launch another attempt to ban Germany's main nazi party, the National Democratic Party (NPD) can partly be assessed as an attempt to demonstrate the state's capacity and will to act in order to regain public credibility.

The trial of Beate Zschäpe, the surviving member of the core of the NSU, will begin in Munich next spring. Although she and her lawyers have so far indicated that she will maintain silence, this is by no means certain.

Also, some of those who supported the NSU, among them activists linked to B&H and the NPD, will face charges.

The trial and further interrogation of the police, the secret services and politicians by a battery of parliamentary investigation committees will bring further disclosures on violent nazi structures and the dismal failures of the state security apparatus. It cannot be excluded that still more scandalous involvement of the state apparatus in violent nazi activity will be uncovered.

Several family members of those killed by the nazis have announced that they will not stop demanding an explanation of what has happened and of why the serial killings were allowed to go on for so long.



Heading for the underground?
Germany's nazis mask up

THE NETHERLANDS

Racist undercurrent surfaces

Overview of the far-right from *Jeroen Bosch* in Amsterdam for Alert! and Antifa-Net

IN NOVEMBER 2012, the Netherlands was again confronted with an examination of when the racist undercurrent of recent years surfaced. Anthropologists and historians trying to pinpoint the moment when Holland's "tolerant multicultural" skin was removed, are still arguing about when it happened.

Was it the rise of right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in the aftermath of 9/11? Or the debate around an article by social democratic intellectual Paul Scheffer in 2000 declaring multicultural society an utter failure?

It is the case that after 9/11, dozens of attacks and threats against individual Muslims, mosques and Islamic schools occurred with unprecedented venom. Fortuyn exploited these racist sentiments as well as wider anti-establishment

resentments to win big support.

Fortuyn was murdered in 2002 in Hilversum, but, even with a dead leader his ragbag of malcontents soon entered parliament with 26 seats and even participated, for a turbulent 87 days, in government.

Maybe the Netherlands lost its famed "never again" attitude that lasted from 1945 until the 1990s, with the 2004 Amsterdam killing by an Islamist of anti-Muslim filmmaker Theo van Gogh, an incident that shook The Netherlands and unleashed attacks on Muslim schools, mosques and individual Muslims.

Public and political attention now focussed on 'Muslim radicalisation': surveillance laws implemented, arrests of weapons-carrying

extremists made, radicals besieged in The Hague and road tunnels closed off by masked anti-terror squads.

Debate shifted to assimilation rather than integration, deportation rather than immigration and tough laws rather

than individual or group encouragement to participate in society. Spearheading that, having taken up Fortuyn's baton, was Geert Wilders, heading the right-wing populist Freedom Party, of which he is sole member.

In November 2012, an arrest with a curious back-story was made in a small town in Friesland, in the north of the Netherlands. In 1999, a 16-year-old girl was found raped and murdered in a field near Zwaagwesteinde.

Immediately, locals and journalists fingered refugees at a nearby asylum centre. The way the girl, Marianne Vaatstra, was murdered (her throat "was cut", said the media) was not 'Western' and could never have been

Geert Wilders with German Freedom Party's René Stadtkewitz



NETHERLANDS KEY FACTS

Parties

■ **Partij voor de Vrijheid** (Freedom Party – PVV). The only party with national relevance
Membership: one (Geert Wilders)
Islamophobic, right-wing populist and ultra-nationalist with a 'leftist' economic agenda

2012 Parliamentary Elections: 10.1% (950,055 votes), 15 seats
Publication: Irregular electronic newsletter. Circulation unknown.

■ **Nederlandse Volks-Unie** (Dutch People's Union – NVU)
Membership: less than 100, active core 20
Publication: *Wij Europa* (We Europe), quarterly – estimated circulation 100.

The NVU is the oldest nazi party in the Netherlands, established 1971, and re-established 1996 by Constant Kusters, Eite Homan and Joop Glimmerveen. After failed demonstrations in the last decade, the NVU changed its strategy,

under pressure from opponents, to static gatherings.

■ Voorpost

Membership: estimated 20, active core 8
Founded 1978, two years after its Flemish mother organisation was established. Racist, fascist and Islamophobic.

Stages flash actions against building of mosques, leafleting actions, local activity against refugees and immigrant youth.

Campaigns for the rights of the Boerenfolk in South Africa and for amnesty for Flemish World War II collaborators.

Organised locally in circles with monthly meetings.

Has quarterly newsletter *Laagland* and bi-monthly magazine *Revolte*, published by Flemish Voorpost and various websites.

■ National Socialist Action (NSA)

Membership: no members, just activists. Estimated around 10

Circa 2005, a group of White Power hooligans "developed" the NSA, inspired by UK-based Racial Volunteer Force's Dutch representative Eite Homan and by German "Autonomous Nationalists". After disputes over ideology and strategy in 2009, the group split and by 2011 disappeared almost entirely. A small group, the Anti-Capitalist Network (ACN), together with Homan, remains.

■ Blood & Honour

Membership: unknown.
Fluctuating core of activists
In 2006/2007 Blood & Honour established with local "divisions". Active with meetings, commemorations, concerts, providing security for other fascist meetings. Some B&H events banned through effective anti-fascist intervention.

In 2012, there seem to be three local groups active: in the north and east of the Netherlands and

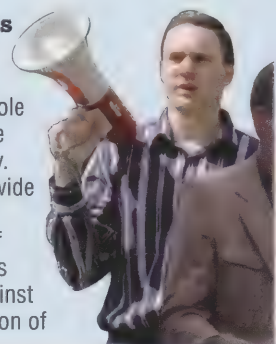
one in the province of North-Holland. A split-off – Combat 18 Flanders and Netherlands – is also still around.

■ Network National Socialists (NNS)

Membership: unknown.
Fluctuating core of activists
New formation scooped up some activists from NSA and B&H. Held demonstrations in The Hague in 2011 and 2012. Mainly takes part in demonstrations in Germany and Belgium.

Key figures

■ **Geert Wilders** – founder and sole member of the Freedom Party. Known worldwide as a "martyr" for freedom of speech and his "crusade" against the 'Islamisation of



done by a Dutchman. Top investigative journalist, Peter R de Vries, appeared on TV with an animation showing "dark men" making throat-cutting gestures.

The police arrested a refugee and reported that another had "fled". Fortuyn wrote in the best selling rightist magazine *Elsevier*: "Cutting a throat, that is something a Friesian would never do". Later, it became clear that her throat was not cut but that failed to make headlines.

Murder confession

The extreme right eagerly fuelled the rage against refugees living in centres in small, mostly white, villages but mobilisation against asylum centres did not need the ultra-right's assistance. Refugees were already being portrayed as 'criminals', 'rapists', 'thieves' and 'parasites'.

The ideas that Western culture with its 'enlightened' values is threatened by an Islamic/Moroccan culture and that this culture is not compatible with Dutch life began to sink in.



In November 2012, however, it emerged that a Dutch man from a nearby town had killed Marianne Vaatstra. DNA testing in the area led to his arrest and confession.

The question is now: will debate or self-reflection take place on the same level and with equal media noise and headlines as in the years that people hunted for a culprit among the most vulnerable?

Debate on Islam and integration is still a raw nerve. Witness the reaction to another incident in December 2012. At a football match in Almere where most

players were of immigrant background, a linesman was kicked to death.

Wilders jumped in, branding the horrific incident as a "Moroccan" problem. He was dismissed by Prime Minister Mark Rutte, his former ally in the last government, but the Freedom Party nevertheless grew in the polls as a result of nationwide shock about the incident and through Wilders' cynical manipulation of it.

And the traditional extreme-right and the nazis in the last 20 years? In the 1990s, the traditional extreme-right

had three seats in parliament and around 70 local council seats but was mainly ignored by other parties or met fierce anti-fascist resistance on the streets and could never mobilise masses of voters.

For that, a different extremism was needed: right wing populism, started by Fortuyn and boosted by former right-wing liberals Rita Verdonk and Wilders, in the years after van Gogh's murder.

The fact that Wilders' Freedom Party still polls as the biggest party indicates the racist storm has truly hit formerly tolerant Holland. ●

the West'. Under state protection since death threats in 2004.

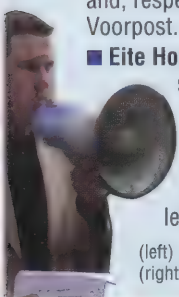
■ **Martin Bosma** – ideologist of the Freedom Party, speechwriter for Wilders. Wrote *The Fake Elite* of the Counterfeiters, an attack on multiculturalism and the left in 2011.

■ **Constant Kusters** – chairman of the NVU and organiser of provocative demonstrations. His inflammable character hinders keeping nazi activists united. Runs NVU as his private hobby.

■ **Florens van der Kooi** and **Paul Peters** – activities organiser and, respectively, "strategist" of Voorpost.

■ **Eite Homan** – nazi activist since 1980s. His hatred of Jews drives him to recruit young activists. Wants unity between radical right and radical left to fight "the system".

(left) Constant Kusters and
(right) Florens van der Kooi



VIOLENCE MAP

Zwaagwesteinde Brutal murder of Marianne Vaatstra May 1999 sparked racist protest wave against refugee centres across the Netherlands. The killer was a local Dutchman arrested in November 2012

Amsterdam Kerwin Duinmeijer murdered by racist skinhead in August 1983.

Amsterdam Islam critic Theo van Gogh killed by radical Muslim November 2004

Hilversum Right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn shot in May 2002 by animal rights activist

Province of Limburg Wilders' Freedom Party has more than 20% of the votes

Between 2002 and 2005, racist youngsters were active in local groups in **The Hague/Zoetermeer, Rotterdam, Eindhoven, Enschede/Hengelo, Haarlem and Venlo.**

Uden Islamic school razed to ground by racists on 9 November 2004, days after van Gogh's murder



Is Unionism power

by Matthew Collins

In Northern Ireland, flags and churches dominate the urban geography. Its capital, Belfast, an often grey and unwelcoming city, still attracts soul-saving evangelical missionaries. The skyline is dominated by hurried regeneration; subsidised half-empty factory conversions of undersubscribed new apartments cushion the river Lagan and tower over streets that make up Belfast's maze of terraced houses and tower blocks.

Over 1,500 lives were taken in Belfast during the 'Troubles' in either – depending on your point of view – the name of national liberation, the name of 'defence', or a brutal sectarian war. Some would describe it as an ethnic-religious conflict where people literally fought and died to occupy particular rows of houses, leaving others to flee in terror without their belongings after staring down the barrel of a gun and as flames engulfed their homes.

Unemployment in Northern Ireland stands at just under 10%, (5% lower than the rate in the Republic of Ireland) while 23.5% of 18-24 year olds are unemployed compared to the UK average of 19.3%. Overall, the rate of people described as "economically inactive" has risen in the last year to 26.9%, the highest in the UK.

The religious gap, the divide between the Catholic and Protestant populations, has shrunk to just 3%. There's a comfortable and growing realisation that if anything, a united Ireland is, at least for the time being, an economic impossibility. A growing number of people now consider their identity as Northern Irish.

The closing of the gap between the religious groups is in part to a growing Catholic middle class and Catholic immigration, particularly from Poland.



Thirteen years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, which offered a peaceful future with a devolved parliament and an agreement by paramilitary groups to disarm, the union between Northern Ireland and Britain remains secure.

For Irish nationalists and Republicans, a shared future has translated into acknowledgement of their national aspirations and – for sections of Unionism at least – a growing fear that this acknowledgement will lead to the eradication of the province's defining Protestant traditions.

Imposing murals

The demilitarisation of both Northern Ireland institutions and the bulk of the paramilitaries spotlighted the post-conflict living conditions of people. A shared future with vehemently opposing views meant a peaceful acknowledgement of their shared heritage and history, exemplified

by the removal of the visible trappings of paramilitarism – the huge and imposing murals of armed and masked men from rival murder gangs were replaced by cultural pointers. For the Unionist and Protestant community, there has been the building of factories and workplaces, the docks, the Titanic and, of course, service to the Crown by military sacrifice. For Catholics, nationalists and republicans, there is the struggle for civil and human rights, the Irish language, arts and culture and internationalism. The repeal of the 1954 flags and emblems act in 1987 saw the Irish tricolour flown for the first time without fear of arrest.

Sharing power where there is an historical and murderous mutual distrust is no more difficult than in Belfast, a city of 600,000 residents in a province of less than two million. Former IRA men and women, trained ideologues who have swapped the

bullet and the bomb for ballots, sit across a legislative floor from the very Unionist politicians they waged war against.

Outside Stormont, it appears that rust has withered the fire power of the Loyalist paramilitaries. Since their "sincere and abject" ceasefire in 1994, Loyalist paramilitaries have not gone away though. They have stoked a rain of bitter resentment at what they feel has been a cleansing of their contribution to the peace process, a cleansing of their own identities and a gradual but prolonged assault on their own history and culture. The gap between the working classes has shortened, but the gap between the Unionist working class (Loyalists) and their political representatives has never been greater. What former Loyalist terrorist and politician David Ervine described as "Big house Unionists who never fought the war but took all the accolades"

flagging



has bred such resentment that despite their numerical superiority, Unionists are in the minority on Belfast City council.

Outside Belfast, Newry and Mourne Council recently named a children's play park after an IRA man who died on hunger strike, which Unionists say effectively bans Protestant children from using it. Loyalists have antagonised Catholics by performing sectarian songs outside Catholic churches during the controversial marching season and dissident Republicans have struck back by desecrating Protestant churches and halls.

In December, Nationalists on Belfast Council proposed the removal of the Union Flag from on top of Belfast city hall. Only intervention from the cross-community Alliance Party resulted in a deal that the flag could flown on 20 designated days only. After a year of community tension where Loyalists had flexed their

muscles sporadically with shows of selective rioting, thousands took to the streets and to the city hall to vent their outrage.

Sinister attack

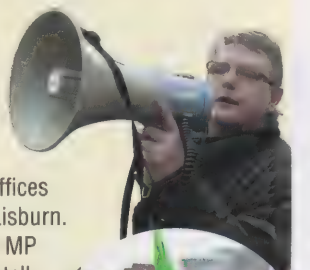
As violence broke out, it took a predictably sinister edge with Alliance Party premises and homes attacked by firebombs and death threats issued by people claiming to act on the behalf of Paramilitary groups. Thousands took part in a peaceful march on the first weekend addressed by representatives from both the paramilitary UDA and UVF, as well as Jim Dowson, a well known protestant firebrand preacher with links to the British far-right.

Nightly protests, blockades and clashes erupted across the province but despite evidence that the UDA and the UVF were orchestrating protests there was a noticeable absence of men dressed in black brandishing firearms. Instead their political wing, the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), complained bitterly that the removal of the union flag is the most serious and sinister attack on Northern Ireland's protestant and Unionist heritage. Some of those arrested during clashes with the police have been as young as 11.

Sinn Féin claims the removal of the Union flag makes Belfast city hall a building "for use by everyone". For Loyalists, removal of the flag is not only a symbolic attack on their previously dominant state-sanctioned relationship with Britain, but signifies that their political and social dominance is waning. Evidence would suggest, as Belfast's normally frantic Christmas shopping period suffered some £12m in lost revenue during the protests, that this could well be their only representation until the 2015 elections.

Two weeks that shook Northern Ireland

- 3 DEC** Hundreds march to city hall to protest against planned vote to remove flag. Vote passed 15 arrests
- 4/5 DEC** Two Alliance Party Councillors forced to flee her home and party offices in Carrickfergus, East Belfast and Bangor firebombed
- 5 DEC** NI First Minister Peter Robinson (pictured), a Unionist, calls for Loyalists to end protests
- 6 DEC** PUP, linked to the UVF, attacks Unionists for "blaming and condemning Loyalism". Prof Peter Shirlow predicted the end of "Progressive Loyalism" and "could undermine ceasefires." Republican dissidents attack protestant church
- 7 DEC** 30 Loyalists blockade the offices of Alliance MLA's office in Lisburn. Alliance leader Naomi Long MP receives death threat. PSNI tell the BBC that "senior members of UVF and UDA" are behind protest violence
- 8 DEC** Clashes across Belfast. Irish tricolour burned
- 9 DEC** Police car with PSNI officer inside firebombed
PUP accuse "intellectual northern republicans" of "cultural apartheid" while DUP distribute 40,000 leaflets blaming the Alliance Party for trouble. Former UVF man Billy Hutchinson calls for "unarmed resistance" to restore the flag
- 10 DEC** Severe rioting across Belfast. Catholic pub attacked during flag protest in Armagh. Hundreds gather in Ballycastle and tricolour burned again
- 14 DEC** Pipe bomb left on the doorstep of press photographer covering riots
- 15 DEC** Flag protests spread to Scotland
- 17 DEC** Sinn Féin accuse unionists of "retreating to the trenches". Eleven police officers injured in major disorder across Belfast. In all, there are 80 protests across the province.
- 18 DEC** Opposing bail for rioters, PSNI declare they "see no light at the end of the tunnel". Lisburn council announces plans to fly flag all year round



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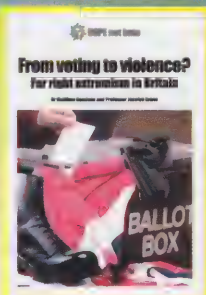
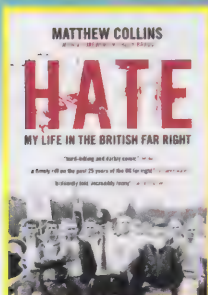
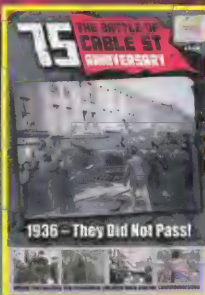
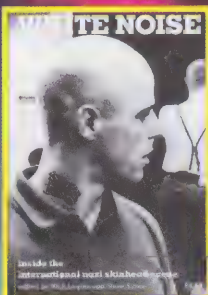
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2012 ENDED BADLY for Solidarity, the BNP's supposed trade union, when HOPE not hate uncovered a plot to dupe an Asian man into fronting the group.

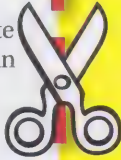
In early November the BNP removed any mention of its front group from its website sparking rumours that the organisation had not earned enough 10% commissions from its members to pursue the charade of being a normal trade union anymore.

It became a little clearer later in the month that more underhand activities were actually a foot. A Sri Lankan man from the West Midlands, Suresh Kumar Retnasingham, had miraculously been elected onto Solidarity's national executive. Joining Retnasingham on the Solidarity's executive were a whole host of well-known fascists and racists.

After some quick enquiries it became clear that Retnasingham may have been unaware of the nature of the group he was becoming involved with and that he may have bent the truth a little in selling his trade union credentials to Solidarity himself.

It transpired that Retnasingham had been duped after meeting a former NF leader at a function for the Sri Lankan community into believing that the union was actually associated with the Liberal Party, of Liberal Democrat fame, and through a series of carefully worded emails and communications with the rest of the group was convinced that Solidarity was a genuine trade union with merely a “patriotic flavour”.

Working in conjunction with the union Prospect and Midlands TUC, HOPE not hate was able to explain to Retnasingham that he had been duped and he did not take much persuading in helping us stop another con by the BNP firmly in its tracks. ●



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Re-writing the Holocaust

Holocaust revisionism today

by Nick Lowles

FIVE YEARS AGO I was fortunate enough to visit Auschwitz in Poland with the Holocaust Educational Trust. I am not sure if fortunate is necessarily the right word but it was a trip that was to make a lasting impression on me.

In all, just over one million people died during the four-and-a-half years the camp was in existence; almost all of them were Jewish men, women and children. But fortunately some survived and were able to tell their story.

Having visited Auschwitz and heard the testimony of survivors it seems incomprehensible that people would deny the Holocaust or deliberately play down or distort what happened. But they do, and do so for political reasons. And discovering who these people are and why they do it is the purpose of a new ebook launched by HOPE not hate.

Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today builds upon a similar publication we produced in 2000, in the immediate aftermath of David Irving's failed libel action. It seeks to take stock of how the Holocaust revisionist movement has changed in the intervening decade. The publication examines how its arguments have morphed and adapted in order to continue its primary function of raining down derision, defamation and hatred upon Jews. It looks at those who deny the Holocaust happened, those who question key facts in order to deliberately

undermine its significance and those who attempt to relativise it in order to compare it to other conflicts and persecutions.

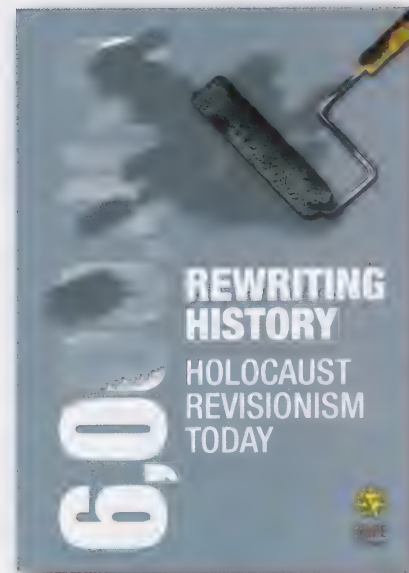
In particular, the ebook looks at how Holocaust deniers and revisionists have sought to overhaul their anti-Semitic arguments in order to make them relevant for a broader public and more specifically to reach out to some in Muslim countries on the basis of "my enemy's enemy is my friend".

Britain is a key hub in the Holocaust revisionist world. Individuals and groups based here are some of the main conduits between the old-fashioned nazi Holocaust deniers and those who use it as a means to attack Israel in the Middle East today. The English language, our liberal laws and a few determined individuals has meant that Britain is at the centre of a worldwide web of hate.

More specifically *Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today* charts:

- The declining influence of traditional Holocaust denial on the European far right
- How the UK is the key bridge between the old style far right Holocaust deniers and political actors in the Middle East who are increasingly using adopting both denial and revisionism as tools against Israel
- The on-going global network and activity that was created by the Tehran conference in 2006
- The explosion of Holocaust revisionism and Holocaust relativism in Eastern Europe in recent years and how much of this is in the political and academic mainstream
- How some on the political left, particularly in Britain, at best ignore Holocaust revisionism and at worst adopt it as part of their anti-Zionist/anti-Israel discourse
- The key players in Holocaust revisionism and profiles over 40 people

Our ebook was given added impetus over the controversy surrounding Gilad Atzmon's performance in Bradford last year. Atzmon is a well-known and talented jazz musician but he is also a strong critic of Israel, Jews in general and a Holocaust revisionist. Despite being Jewish himself, Atzmon has promoted Holocaust deniers and claims that the established history of the Holocaust is misleading. He attacks Jewish identity in a way that would clearly be recognised as racist if it were about any other minority identity and claims that people might think that Hitler was right about the Jews



because of their behaviour today.

HOPE not hate asked the event organisers to withdraw his invitation. Not only was this request rebuffed but we came under a barrage of personal attacks on the internet.

One of our central arguments was that if a British National Party member had said similar things then people would be up in outrage, so why the silence when it comes to Atzmon?

The Holocaust is one of the most horrific and systematic mass killings in modern world history and that is why it is so important that we never forget what happened and just as important that we do not allow people – for whatever political reason – to deliberately re-write history and sanitise the ideology that caused it.

**Rewriting history: Holocaust Revisionism Today
can be downloaded for free at
www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop/rewriting-history**

Political Islamophobia

How anti-Muslim hatred is used by political parties in Europe

By Graeme Atkinson

The expression of anti-Muslim sentiments and the promotion of anti-Muslim policies have been concomitants to the emergence of the populist right in Europe during the past decade a new HOPE not hate study discovers.

Political Islamophobia: How anti-Muslim hatred is used by political parties in Europe charts how political parties that are visibly identifiable as anti-Muslim have edged their way onto the political landscapes.

The dramatic events of 11 September 2001 when Islamist terrorists flew jet aircraft into New York's Twin Towers and the Pentagon, killing almost 3,000 people and injuring another 6,000, is now seen as the catalyst for the increased expression of anti-Muslim sentiments and widespread suspicion of resident Muslim populations.

Old and new far right political parties sought to derive maximum advantage of the "fear and loathing" of Muslims that was produced by the 9/11 terror attacks and strengthened by the military interventions and wars in Afghanistan and, subsequently, Iraq that followed them.

At the same time, it is apparent that these military interventions and the heightened, often repressive, legislative moves to combat the threat of terrorism had radicalising effects in some sections of Muslim communities across Western Europe, precipitating major new acts of Islamist terror in Madrid in March 2004 and in London fifteen months later.

These attacks had destructive human and political effects across the whole of west European society and further polarised relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

Our survey illustrates, however, the diversity of anti-Muslim, Islamophobic expression among European political parties as well as pointing out their broad range of character; some being right-wing populist, some being on the broader extreme-right and some outrightly Nazi or fascist.

This diversity, fortunately, renders it almost impossible for these parties to forge a common front or structure at international level in the way that the

extra-parliamentary Counter-Jihadist right has been able to do.

While it is undoubtedly the case that the 9/11 terrorist attacks turned out to be the decisive global mainspring to the biggest wave of anti-Muslim expression, it was not the cause of Islamophobia but was, rather, the most recent trigger. Anti-Muslim undercurrents had been simmering in many European countries for years.

In France the roots of anti-Muslim prejudice date back to the Algerian War of the late 1950s and early 1960s when it sought to prevent an overwhelmingly Muslim-populated colony from winning national self-determination. In the UK, 9/11 simply gave a new focus to already deep divisions between white and Muslim communities in many northern towns and cities.

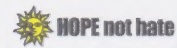
Other key events in other countries can also be traced. For example, in the UK, the London bombings of 7 July 2005 can be said to have cranked up social tensions and increased racialised suspicion of Muslims, affording fresh opportunities for the type of anti-Muslim propaganda published by sections of the daily right-wing tabloid media which in turn was exploited by far right political parties.

In Spain, by contrast, the embittered reaction to the carnage of the March 2004 Islamist train bombings in which 191 people were killed and more than 2,000 injured, does not appear to have had great longevity.

Catalysts of a non-violent, more ideological character in other countries have had a no less toxic effect. In Germany, for example, the already simmering anti-Muslim atmosphere was ramped up by the publication of a book by the well-known politician and banker Thilo Sarrazin. The book, titled *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (*Germany is doing away with itself*), became national news and the subject of national controversy.

Sarrazin became a celebrity overnight and polls suggested that almost half of the German population agreed with his political views and that even 18% would vote for his party if he started one.

In Denmark, too, internal political



Political Islamophobia

How anti-Muslim hatred is used by political parties in Europe



Political Islamophobia

How anti-Muslim hatred is used by political parties in Europe

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factors also aggravated the situation for that country's small Muslim. Danish engagement in the war in Afghanistan, fighting the Islamist Taliban, has had some importance for the activities of the anti-Muslim parties but the most inflammatory eruption of anti-Muslim sentiment was undoubtedly the so-called "Muhammed cartoon" crisis.

Reactions surrounding the whole troubled issue of Islam and its increasingly vulnerable position in Europe have not been a one-way street. Enormous damage was done to the entire anti-Muslim spectrum – media, parliamentary and aspirant parliamentary parties and the extra-parliamentary Counter-Jihadist factions – by Anders Breivik's killing spree in Norway on 22 July 2011 in which he murdered seventy-seven, overwhelmingly young, people in attacks in Oslo and at Utøya Island.

Some far right political parties have emphasised a supposed cultural clash between Islam and "western" culture – a line that echoes Samuel Huntington's reactionary ideas about the so-called "clash of civilisations". Others, especially in France, counterpose secularism to what they define as Muslim "religious extremism". Interestingly, the secular-oriented campaigns almost inevitably end up as antisemitic as well as anti-Islamic, calling into question Muslim and Jewish dietary requirements, ritual slaughter of animals and religious headdress.

Dog collars and hijabs

When a Church of England vicar and Muslim woman began walking the streets of Britain's most divided city after the 7/7 bombings, they set in motion the wheels of a justice movement that is bringing together implacable enemies. By Nick Ryan.

THE ASSEMBLY was crowded, the young faces gathered from across the estates of Blackburn, one of Britain's most divided cities.

Three hundred and fifty 11 year olds looked expectantly at the woman dressed in the *hijab*, standing on the stage in front of a giant projector screen.

Just as she was about to speak, a white boy, smaller than the rest, hesitantly raised his hand and stood up.

"Yes?" smiled Anjum Anwar, a Pakistani-born Muslim who has called the Lancashire city her home for the past 40 years.

"Miss, are you... are you related to Osama Bin Laden?" he blurted out.

Without batting an eyelid, she replied: "Why, yes darling, I am. I am"

"You could have heard a pin drop," chuckles Anwar, one of the country's top mediators in racially and religiously-divided communities.

"You could almost hear the teachers go: 'Oh no!' But I took a deep breath and explained that as Muslims, we are all brothers and sisters. It is just that, like with any family, some brothers and sisters can go bad. 'What do we do about that?' I asked. And that's when we got talking."

Divided Streets

Anjum Anwar is one half of a remarkable duo trying to bring peace to some of our most religiously-riven communities. Where the far-right British National Party (BNP), English Defence League (EDL) and offshoots have risen – and where some young Asian men have been sucked in by gangs of radical clerics – Anwar and Chris Chivers, a passionate Anglican vicar who counts Desmond Tutu among his friends, have stepped in.

Where different faith and ethnic groups are not talking, and the threat of misunderstanding or violence arises,





Anwar and Chivers are called in. So successful are they that they have brought their work to Israel, South Africa, Bosnia and many other countries.

Just a few months after the 7/7 bomb attacks in London, Chivers, 45, and Anwar, 56, began walking the streets of Blackburn, which a 2001 report had described as the most divided in Britain. In the same year, race riots between white and Asian youths had sent flames scudding above the terraced houses of nearby Bradford, Burnley and Oldham.

Chivers is passionate about injustice: "As a Christian I see God become a human being and as Christians we need to become completely embedded in human affairs".

Fully integrated

He describes himself as a workaholic, a smoker who has suffered five heart-attacks but never let health problems slow him down. He studied music at Oxford before joining the church. He then worked for the Truth and Reconciliation Committee in South Africa, officiated at the Queen Mother's funeral in Westminster Abbey, and was parachuted into Blackburn by the Prime Minister's Office with a special brief to undertake community outreach.

Anwar is a former banker and teacher whose family emigrated from Pakistan when she was nine. She considered herself fully-integrated into British life until 9/11.

"The day after 9/11 I walked into the shops near my house – I wasn't wearing a hijab in those days, just jeans, etc – and they refused to serve me," she says.

"I waited a full five minutes and I just couldn't understand what was happening. I walked home feeling homeless, stateless, countryless. I wanted to run, but I didn't know where."

She found work with the Lancashire Council of Mosques as an education officer and bumped into Chris Chivers at Blackburn Cathedral.

"I was called into the Cathedral to be on a panel to talk about interfaith. He said he had never seen such a segregated community – and I said 'thank you! Thank you that someone had finally said it.'"

Changing attitudes

Since then the two have become inseparable.

Chivers says: "The town was really segregated, that was a massive problem. But we thought at least if we can get hold of people and start to shift attitudes and perceptions that would be a good thing.

Anwar, who became the first-ever Muslim directly employed by a Church of England cathedral, is now Blackburn Cathedral's dialogue officer.

Chivers says: "There was no space in normal places – the pubs, bars, curry houses – there was nothing neutral

welcoming everyone. We needed dialogue between our faiths, and people so we decided, in response to 7/7, that we would just walk in the community.

"And we would show that by having a woman with a hijab and a priest with a dog collar that the world wouldn't fall apart."

It had a huge impact. They walked in Audley, almost exclusively Muslim. And then in Mill Hill, mainly white. People came out of houses to talk with them, amazed at their presence.

EDL threats

They then held a 'Clash of Civilisations' discussion in the cathedral.

"We had 250 people turn up, even just people off the streets," explains Anwar.

"A lot of young people too from Blackburn College. We were really surprised. I didn't expect more than a dozen. We had Muslims and non-Muslims, Asians and non-Asians."

These have now become weekly meetings with up to 200 people attending. One of their major successes was getting Blackburn's Muslims to actually come inside the cathedral, previously seen as off-limits.

"On that first conversation, the first question I got was 'Why do your lot fly planes into buildings?' But it's important we open the debate, and say what needs to be said, before we can begin the healing" says Anwar.

She now tours schools, colleges, universities and religious institutions and youth groups.

She says: "I am always bombarded when I go into schools where non-Muslim teachers don't know how to talk to Muslim kids. I'm an outsider and it makes it easier for me to open up conversations about terrorism, women's status in Islam and that kind of thing."

Anwar has faced threats from BNP and EDL supporters and other Islamophobes. For an entire year she received abusive calls from one man gentleman, who eventually turned up at her office. When she faced him down, he apologised and told her: 'I think I may have been wrong about you.'

When not travelling Anwar runs a charity, Woman's Voice, which deals with hate crimes, domestic violence and education with the young women.

The pair both work with the country's largest Christian-Muslim interfaith organisation, the Christian Muslim Forum, and were recently called to deal with problems in a Roman Catholic school, where a teacher had tried to ban a parent wearing a niqab [face veil] from walking onto the premises.

■ Nick Ryan is a journalist and communications advisor, author of extremism exposé 'HOMELAND: Into a World of Hate' www.nickryan.net | @ryanscribe

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